

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

NATION, SOCIETY AND THE STATE :
THE RECONCILIATION OF PALESTINIAN AND JEWISH
NATIONHOOD

THESIS
PRESENTED
AS PARTIAL REQUIREMENT
OF THE DOCTORATE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

BY
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UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

NATION, SOCIÉTÉ ET L'ÉTAT :
LA RÉCONCILIATION DE L'IDENTITÉ NATIONALE
PALESTINIENNE ET JUIVE

THÈSE
PRÉSENTÉE
COMME EXIGENCE PARTIELLE
DU DOCTORAT EN SCIENCE POLITIQUE

PAR
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FORWARD AND DEDICATIONS

Being confronted with the impasse of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian People - together with the liberation of the Jewish People from Zionism and Judaeophobia - a critical analysis in political theory becomes necessary. This work seeks to resolve this continuing crisis by examining Palestinian national aspirations in conjunction with the emancipation of the Jewish People; mutual liberation from racism and the Zionist ideology with which it is associated. Let the prescience of thought give inspiration to the will for the reconciliation of our collective identities and cultures, so ensuring our mutual continued existence in security.

An appreciation for the support, advise and respect provided by the Thesis Director Professeur Lawrence Olivier and for the inspiration instilled by Professeur Thierry Hentsch, is here noted .

It is also necessary to note my appreciation to Dr. Pierre-Michel Huet and Dr. Bernard Willems (CHUM, Montréal).

Subsequently, this work is dedicated to:

Meyer Goldseider,
partisan and brother to Sylvia Goldseider-Wajsfeld/Weizfeld,
Ross Dowson (IV International, Canada),
Di Algemeiner Yiddisher Arbeter Bund
(The General Jewish Workers' League),
and La Galerie Fôkus (OSBL-OB).

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RÉSUMÉ

La nation comme entité sociale existe en raison d'une dynamique socio-économico-culturelles. Une société civile est le berceau d'une conscience collective donnant naissance à une personnalité commune, un soi-disant 'esprit national', une culture politique, une histoire, et peut-être une religion ou, une philosophie existentielle, ou une épistémologie. L'État-Nation devient un phénomène transitoire correspondant aux classes sociales, au genre et aux relations nationales répandues dans la société.

La revendication d'une autodétermination est fondamentale face à l'impasse d'un conflit social basé sur 'la question nationale' et ces contradictions, comme l'avancent les théories classiques.

Chaque partie du conflit fait des demandes basées sur son existence par principe, indépendamment des autres revendications semblables. Ainsi, la revendication nationale à l'autodétermination est considérée comme problématique puisqu'elle constitue des propositions mutuellement exclusives. Un examen de l'antinomie entre 'le moi' et 'le non-moi' permet de faire apparaître une méthodologie rendant possible la poursuite de l'analyse du conflit national.

La différenciation entre la nation société, et l'État (et autres connotations idéologiques) permet à la conception de la société civile d'émerger comme un contexte favorable à la Nation. En conséquence, la distinction entre identités nationales et l'idéologie de nationalisme a permis la conservation de l'identité de la Nation dans le cadre d'une société commune.

Par l'observation du conflit entre les peuples palestiniens-nes et Israël, l'analyse de la culture nationale permet de trouver les bases pour la réconciliation de

leurs existences nationales en tant que Peuples, fondé ici sur des droits mutuels selon un principe de réciprocité.

La méthode par laquelle la résolution de conflits nationaux permet la réconciliation devient la base pour la formation de la société civile, en tenant compte de la composition plurinationale de la population elle même prête à former une association fondée sur l'autonomie de ses diverses communautés de façon réciproque. De plus, de telles relations devraient être codifiées dans des dispositions constitutionnelles, symbolisant une telle réconciliation.

Mots clés: Nation, autodétermination, état, autonomie, société, société civile, Palestinien, Palestinienne, Palestine, Juive, Juif, Israélien, Israélienne, Israël, sioniste, sionisme, la question nationale, peuple, culture, Bund, Bundist

ABSTRACT

The Nation, as a social entity, arises as a result of socio-econo-cultural dynamics. The Civil Society forms a cradle for a collective consciousness giving rise to a common personality, a National Mind so-called, a political culture, a history, and perhaps a religion or a particular existential framework or epistemology. The Nation-State consequently becomes a transitory phenomenon corresponding to the class, gender and national relations prevalent in the associated society.

The claim to self-determination is a fundamental element to the impasse in the social conflict based in 'the national question' and its contradictions, as in the manner put forward by the classic theories. Each party to a conflict conceivably makes demands based upon their existence as a matter of principle, in isolation from other such claims. Thus the national claim to self-determination is examined as problematic since it remains a mutually exclusive proposition.

An examination of the antinomy between 'the self' and 'the other' furthermore allows a methodology to emerge by which an analysis of national conflict may continue.

The differentiation of the Nation and Society from the State (and other ideological connotations) enables a concept of the Civil Society to emerge as the context for the Nation. Likewise, the distinction between national-identity and the ideology of nationalism allows for the retention of the identity of the Nation in the framework of the common Society.

By way of observing the conflict between the Palestinian People and Israel, the analysis of national-culture finds the basis for the reconciliation of national

existence to be founded upon mutual rights in a Principle of Reciprocity.

The methodology by which the resolution of national conflict results in reconciliation becomes the bases for the formation of Civil Society, taking into consideration the poly-national composition of the population willing to form an association based upon the autonomy of their various communities, in reciprocity. Furthermore, such relations become codified in the Constitutional arrangements signifying such reconciliation.

Key words: Nation, self-determination, State, autonomy, society, Civil Society, Palestinian, Palestine, Jewish, Israeli, Israel, Zionist, Zionism, the national question, People, culture, Bund, Bundist

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Problematic

A) How can one reconcile the presence of national consciousness in a pluralist society by 'multi-ethnic' minorities in a majoritarian national culture? In the global Inter-National/s setting involving an increasing number of independent Nation-States, and Peoples striving to become so -- again, how would the various national interests be reconciled?

B) The question of conflict and war between various nations is oftentimes expressed as the nationalism of each State in defence of its own interests or identity. By an examination of the traditional antinomy between 'the self' and 'the other', a methodology emerges by which an analysis of national conflict may proceed. By analysing the war between Palestinians and the State of Israel we are seeking to resolve this apparent contradiction between Nations in conflict. The lack of such a conceptual analysis has by default nurtured a climate of fatalism in a region that has endured a state of war for five decades and sustained more than 100 years of Zionist-Palestinian conflict.

C) If Society emerges as more enduring than the State, how

would the nature of political representation maintain cohesion in poly-national societies and in relations with similar social formations?

0.1.1 Problématique

A) Comment peut-on réconcilier la présence dans une société pluraliste de la conscience nationale des minorités 'multiethniques' et d'une culture majoritaire nationale? Dans le contexte 'Inter-Nationaux', comprenant un nombre toujours plus grand des États-nations indépendants, et de peuples efforçant de le devenir - comment réconcilier les divers intérêts nationaux persistants?

B) La question du conflit et de la guerre entre plusieurs nations est souvent expliquée par le nationalisme de chaque État défendant son identité ou ces propres préférences. L'examen de l'antinomie traditionnelle entre 'le soi/moi' et 'l'autre/le non-moi', permet l'élaboration d'une méthode qui rend possible l'analyse du conflit de type national. Par l'analyse de la guerre entre la Nation des Palestiniens-ens et l'État d'Israël, nous cherchons à résoudre cette contradiction apparente entre des nations en conflit. L'absence d'une telle analyse, telle conceptuelle, a nourri un climat de fatalisme dans un état de guerre qui a duré cinq décennies et soutenu plus que cent années de conflit sioniste et palestiniens-nes.

C) Si la société apparaît comme plus durable que l'État,

comment la nature de la représentation politique, qui la fonde, pourra-t-elle maintenir sa cohésion dans des sociétés plurinationales et dans les relations avec des formations sociales souvent similaires?

0.2 Preface

It may be noted that, by coincidence, when the first edition of this work was submitted on the 28th of September 2000, the openings events of the second Palestinian Intifada emerged. The impulse provided by the immediacy of the forthcoming series of rapid events corresponds to the preciseness specified here which allows for a comprehensive deduction of the conceptual resolution of national-identity with itself.

The prospect of a 'Jihad' as then projected, in all its interpretations, has come to fruition arising from the underlying contradictions referred to in this work. By a negative reciprocity as a replication of Zionist methodology in response to the repression which the Palestinian People as a whole are subjected to, the Islamist tendency diverts the Intifada to a reductionism that opens itself to a strategy of war between religions and Peoples.

The current social and political crises in the historic 'Holy Land' tends to perpetuate itself, increasing in intensity, interrupted occasionally by the international influence of various States or social opposition movements. The imbedded contradictions perpetuating this conflict may be dislodged by a critique of the ideological constraints which lock this battle into that dynamic. In effect, such research is not only necessary but inevitable, as various initiatives and cease-fires continue to breakdown. An examination of the

nominally institutionalized State-imposed structure is thus a necessity following from its ideological justifications found in nineteenth century European political thought, carried over out of context into the twenty-first century. Such an anti-Zionist critique must necessarily take into consideration the Jewish critique of the racist practice known as Judaeophobia.²

The denunciations made of various anti-Zionist critiques have often mentioned an association to an anti-Jewish perspective. In the current actuality, there are such anti-Jewish critiques which are provided to supply the stereotypic prejudices found in the Muslim or the Christian political cultures (prejudices that parallel those to be found in the Judaic culture). This diversion is why one is obligated to assume the responsibility of opposing the regeneration of anti-Jewish racism which seeks to associate that prejudice with a critique of the Zionist State. Other critical writings, though not explicitly anti-Jewish, fail to confront the political stereotypes that do utilize the critique of Zionism to make of it an attack on the Jewish People, whether it originates implicitly, or by ambiguity; consciously or unconsciously. The association of Zionist ideology and anti-Jewish sentiment is found in such ideological interpretations as Zionism itself as well as its current co-sponsors, the Christian evangelical movement (Dispensationalism) - having been preceded by Restorationism. Other such racist associations are made in neo-Nazism₃, Populism₄ as well as the sectarian tendencies of Islamic thought. The lack of clarity on the subject is evident and its identification is crucial to the resolution of that problematic. The attempt to have anti-Zionism included in a list of 'racisms'¹ is merely the tentative of the adherents of that ideology seeking to

¹ Avra Shapiro & Michele Alkin, Snider Social Action Institute, Simon Wiesenthal Center, Press Information, January 6, 2005, On-line, <<http://www.wiesenthal.com/site/apps/nl/content2.asp?c=fwLYKnN8LzH&b=245494&ct=337442>>, Consulted 2005, and, *SWC's New APP to Fight Campus Anti-Semitism / Anti-*

legitimize a racist political programme. While it is claimed that the Jewish People are being singled out as not having a right to sovereignty, such a claim is actually seeking to have the Zionist movement proclaimed as the national liberation movement of the Jewish People as a whole, even though Zionism only represents a minority of the Jewish people world-wide. In effect such ideologues are seeking an endorsement of Zionism by the human rights community even though there has never been a Jewish mandate for the Statist utopian adventure, which has given rise to five wars and two Intifadas. The Zionist proposition is basically that such a State is the only means of exercising Jewish auto-emancipation and as such, the State is the only expression of national independence by default, supposedly. This leads to the claim that a denial of the Israel State's legitimacy is a denial of the Jewish right to 'self-determination'. This claim is thus based in the proposition that anti-Zionism is equivalent to the denial of the national-identity of the Jewish Nation itself.

Such a proposition as Zionism makes is mistaken in identifying national-identity with the State per se and with a particular State. Although the basic proposition that denies national-identity - together with the necessity for its defence - is to be considered a racist denial of national-identity in general, this does not in and of itself define the anti-Zionist critique. The claim by Israel Prime Minister Golda Meir that the Palestinians have no national-identity is one such instance of denial in addition to the anti-Zionist tendency that nonetheless denies the national-identity of the Jewish People, although it affirms the national-identity of the Palestinians. These are the racist blinders that tunnel consciousness into a single direction. The Marxist paradigm oftentimes finds itself in the same position, by denying the nationality of the

Jewish People.

Jewish auto-determination is a many faceted matter and cannot be considered to be encapsulated by the State of Israel. The Jewish People as a whole is not represented by the State of Israel as indicated by the fact that Jewish people in general do not even have a vote in the Israeli political process. The claim that the Israel State represents all Jewish People is a claim to having established a dictatorship over the Jewish Nation as a whole. The State established by a minority tendency of the People is not equal to the Jewish Nation as a whole.

This Thesis provides a proof for a conceptual reappraisal. The proposed differentiation made here between national-identity and nationalism has required further elaboration and is followed with a qualitative deductive proof.

The crucial differentiation made between national-identity and nationalism is interpolated into the difference between the Jewish Nation/People and the State of Israel, considered in the context of the Jewish political culture. This differentiation is the precursor to the Jewish political revolution necessary to unblock the current unending battle between the Israel Zionist State and the Palestinian People as a whole, who continue to be threatened with complete expulsion or ghettoisation from or in the lands of the remaining Palestinian territory not currently annexed to the State of Israel. The counter-position of the Jewish Nation to the Zionist State is a key to unblocking the international diplomatic process which has been hampered by the Zionist movement's support network in the United States of America's Christian crusading evangelicalism that carries the strategic weight of that country's population as a coherent social force. While the Jewish political culture provided the impression of homogenous support on behalf of the

various governments of Israel, the spokesperson responsible for the World Jewish Congress (president Edger Bronfman) had become a public critic of the government of the State of Israel. Together with the revolt from within the Israeli military; draftees, officers and pilots, the basis for the implementation of the theoretical distinction between the Civil Society, Nation and the State has been set into motion.

In terms of political theory, we may review this very distinction made by a founding Zionist theoretician Theodor Herzl who entitled his principal work *The State of Jews*, although it is known by a previous translation as, *The Jewish State* and so has remained prevalent in public discourse as such. However, the rendering of *Der Judenstaat* as *The Jewish State* has two shortcomings. The first of these refers to the fact that Herzl really does not conceptualize his proposed state as anything particularly Jewish; the nature of his state is fully derived from general Occidental and European conceptions of the State. What he has in mind is not a state that is Jewish in nature structure or tradition, but one that it is a modern state based on conceptions of modern sociology, economy, technology and law, in which Jewish people would live as full-fledged citizens; a state 'for' Jews, in fact.² Or, more precisely, for Jewish Zionists (commonly called 'Jews' or 'Yehudi').

The editor-translator Henk Overberg continues on this point;

It is not the state which was to be Jewish, in fact, but its population. The semantic difference between 'Jewish State' and 'Jews' State' may be a fine one, but it has been stated that this 'fine semantic difference [has] exerted considerable influence on the direction and course of the World Zionist movement (Patai, 1971: 629). It is not

² Henk Overberg, Translated with Introduction to *The Jews' State, A Critical English Translation*, Northvale, New Jersey, Jason Aronson inc., 1997, p. 3.

without interest that the most recent French translation by Claude Klein (1990) refers to the works as *L'état des Juifs* rather than the traditional *L'état juif*, and that Klein offers an apologia analogous to my own (Herzl/Klein, 1990: 8-11).³

Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginzberg (1856-1927)) in his essay *The Jewish State and the Jewish Problem* in 1897 makes the distinction as well in his proposal writing, "to establish a State which will be a Jewish State, and not merely a State of Jews".⁴ Likewise Eric Lee explains, "Herzl consciously selected the name *Judenstaat*, which literally translates as 'Jew-state' ".⁵

The focus of this work's analysis comes to point to the Zionist praxis as representing the penetration of European Statism into the eastern Mediterranean. The assimilation of Jewish political culture as a consequence of the lack of completion to the process of the historic wave of liberal Jewish emancipation, exemplified by 1776 in the USA, 1796 in Holland, 1806 in France, 1822 Prussia, 1837 Québec, 1861 in Italy, 1869 Germany, 1878 in Balkans, (1848) 1867 in Austria and 1917 in Russia,⁶ has created a political vacuum. The failure of this liberal form of emancipation, as citizens, engendered the Zionist reaction by its adoption of the identical prevailing norm in reciprocity as a consequence of the inherent limitations of liberalism, which have failed to recognize the collective national-identity of Jewish citizens. Liberal ideology, being centred on the individual alone, does not allow for collective identities and their rights as such, when faced with the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ Ahad Ha'am, *Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic*, New York, Schocken Books, 1962, p. 79.

⁵ Eric Lee, 'Socialism and the Jewish Revolution', (Part I) pp. 4-36, *The New International Review*, Volume One, Number Four, Rosedale, N.Y., Fist and Rose Publishers, Inc., 1978, p. 24.

⁶ Overberg, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

dominant national identity associated with the State.

0.3 In Relation to Political Theory of Nationalism

During the course of the research for this Thesis, the original distinction made between 'exclusive nationalism' and 'inclusive nationalism' (as in the treatment of nationalism by Hans Kohn) underwent a transformation as significant as the differentiation between Nation and State. Thus, 'exclusive nationalism' became simply 'nationalism', or, the nationalist ideology of the State, and 'inclusive-pluralist nationalism' (cosmopolitanism) became 'national-identity'; as in the sense of a social formation. As such, the Hegelian Nation-State conception is negated by a federated Civil Society with multiple Nations, each with its particular civil society, all united in the Republic by its Civil Constitution.⁵ In such a multi-national social environment there are an indefinite number of identities ranging from the individual to one or more national-identities; whether or not they happen to be associated with an existing State. The concept of National-Identity tends to dissolve the effort made to unite the Nation with the State. Likewise, the attempts to fuse the State to Civil Society fail, in light of the 'National-Identity' concept. The independence of Civil Society is only guaranteed by its auto-sufficiency in operation with an economy that is community-oriented operating as a social-collective. The subordination of the Judiciary to the State, for example, exerted by means of the budget control exercised exclusively by government agency collection, is overturned by the prioritization of civil society. The nature of the collective social economy is methodologically similar to its civil society, as determined by the nature of the federative pluralist social relations, rather than having a civil society suffocated by the dominance of the private

sector or, by State monopolization of the economic institutions. The nature of the Republic is dependent upon the social relations involved in the specific balance of identities for that particular civil society. The practical consequences of the distinction made between 'nationalism' and 'national-identity' are evident when applied to either the Middle-East (eastern Mediterranean) or the Québec-Canada dichotomy.

In the Land that is called 'Holy', there is a demographic balance of the predominantly two national identities in the Arab Palestinian and the Jewish Israeli populations. This points to a bi-national federation of social formations organized as national-cultural and territorially autonomous constitutionally guaranteed civil administrations, so providing for an autonomous co-existence which may accommodate the right of return for the Palestinian refugees. In the Québec/Canada contexts there is a 1:4 proportionality which is territorially polarized, opening the prospect of territorial autonomy as a constitutional necessity, in default of which there is the option of political independence. The direction by which such a conceptual demarcation is accomplished is found in differentiation between national-identity and The State.

The need for the operative distinction between 'national-identity' and 'nationalism' is apparent from a critique of the political theories of nationalism. Shafer delimits nationalism to the modern era,

Nationalism, historically, is one of many group loyalties, a special and more or less unique form that first began to manifest itself rather late in human history, probably - though the question is debatable - during the late Middle Ages in western Europe and England. Not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did it begin to assume something like this modern form and then again, chiefly, in western

Europe and England.⁷

even while recognizing that "Nations, however, may not have an autonomous or independent government or state",⁸ in effect dissociating nationalism from studies of the Nation.

Within the framework of the liberal idealisation of the individual seeking an egalitarian universalism of either bourgeois or Marxist inspiration, there is a lack of comprehension of what Gellner calls "romantic nationalism".⁹ The Modern notion of identity was presumed to have surpassed the "mere enculturation of the daily activities of a local group".¹⁰ It has become evident more recently that this is not the case. Gellner explains this deficiency in liberal theory as an aspect of uneven development that leaves some localities in a relative disadvantage leading to the perpetuation of an idealized defence mechanism which manifests itself as 'nationalism', situated amongst what he chooses to call, "cultural pools".¹¹ This approach coincides with that of Benedict Anderson who also refers explicitly to "imagined community".¹² The 'primordialist' position, as it is considered, nonetheless sustains its identity with the 'nation' in spite of its premature burial by liberalism.

The territorial association with 'nationalism' is proposed as an inherent

⁷ Boyd C Shafer, *Faces of Nationalism: New Realities and Old Myths*, New York & London, A Harvest Book, 1972, p. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹ Ernest Gellner, 'Introduction', pp. 1-7, *Notions of Nationalism*, Sukumar Periwal (ed.), Budapest, Central European University Press, 1995, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

propensity of national identity by way of the defined characteristics of a State. This Statist conception of the nation is derived from the presumption of national identity rooted in an organic rural element rather than in civil society. Gellner's 'populist nationalism' is characteristically 'Gemeinschaft', inward looking and exclusivist, even though 'national-identity' succeeds in forming a collective consciousness that surpasses the atomized units of the State that is characteristic of the 'Gesellschaft', Gellner himself recognises:

The nationalist vision and the social reality which engenders it, cut across the Platonic/Kantian dichotomy. Nationalism borrows its imagery and verbiage from the organic option, but is based largely on the social reality of anonymous atomized society.¹³

The dichotomy between 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft' is parallel to the classic distinction made between 'le moi' et 'le non-moi' extrapolated into collective identities in effect, between the individual and the social context that one finds oneself in, one social context found within another, and so forth. The ideological hedge comes into play when the individual is identified solely with the self and its manifestation in the State, as if all the citizens shared a monarchical power. The State effaces such identities in the campaign for homogenization, called democracy, or majoritarianism. The 'Gemeinschaft' is exemplary of the 'self', although it is also interpreted as 'identity'. As such 'le non-moi', extrapolated into 'le autrie/les autries', may take on a collective sense as in 'Gesellschaft'. Not only is cultural identity human, it is a human right.

The coordination of these parallels is found in the necessary reciprocity of identity. In these terms the State is overruled as a substitute for personal and

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

collective identity/ies. Gellner's confusion of Society with the State in his references to community and society is presented as the dichotomy between the 'organic' and 'citizenship' criteria. The lack of distinction between participants in a society and the citizenship of a State leads to a definition of the Nation that is a State-defined National status. Thus territory is considered a fundamental imperative to Nation; "Roots are indeed rural: the imaginary community invoked by the new ethos is territorial and has intimate links to the land".¹⁴ His 'populist nationalism' is thus exclusive of the Jewish People per se who are considered 'déraciné' and so by consequence, according to such methodology, logically subject to 'antisemitism'. On the other hand he asserts, "Zionism created not merely a fine military instrument which saved Israel in 1948 [...] it also restored, with a vengeance, the imbalance in 'roots'¹⁵ by the creation of an 'artificial peasant' in the kibbutz. This fixation with the land and its State ignores the majority of the Jewish Nation, which abstains from adopting the identity provided by the 'Land of Israel'. Such a view also requires one to ignore the urban concentration of the Israeli Jewish residents, 78% of whom still occupy only 14% of the land surface of the pre-1967 Zionist State, 55 years after the establishment of this 'Nation-State'.⁶ This political construction becomes the rationale in recognising the Nation simply by virtue of it being a State called The Land of Israel, 'Eretz Israel'. On the other hand, the Palestinian 'fellaheen' peasant roots do not appear in the methodology of the 'roots' of this 'populist nationalism'. Gellner's criterion for a Nation falls into a self-contradictory formality, incapable of recognizing a peasant-based National entity because it lacked a State, even though a peasant class is considered essential to a Nation according to Gellner; this alone being a crucial failing in nationalist theory.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

As such, Gellner's approach is absent a criterion by which one may discern the emergence of a 'virulent' nationalism, as he concludes, "all this does not mean that nationalism may not once again re-emerge in its virulent form. [...] It may do so. The question is open, and must obviously be our main concern".¹⁶ The concern with the re-emergence of a 'virulent nationalism' is an expectation that is not misplaced even while its root cause is not taken into consideration. Gellner maintains that, "nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist".¹⁷ so asserting his Statist hypothesis, as if a nation does not have an existence prior to forming a State. Since the State is essential to the theory of nationalism, he is thus blinded to the effect of the State upon the Nation. This is why the root cause of virulence in nationalism is obscured as the State instills an ideology of nationalism fostering an exclusive Monist identity.

Although Benedict Anderson differs with Gellner over the lack of appreciation of the prior existence of the Nation, Anderson as well leaves the Nation as an imaginary entity which is created in the Form of the State.⁸ And so he makes reference to the "essential correctness of Gellner's point".¹⁸

Michael Mann, in his *A Political Theory of Nationalism and its Excesses*¹⁹, sets up the nut of the problem to be defined. On his way to the identity of the State and the Nation he forgives 'state militarism', in the name of the Nation rather than the State, but only by the assumption of the dual identity made of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁹ Michael Mann, 'A Political Theory of Nationalism and its Excesses', Periwal, pp. 44-64; *op. cit.*, *Notions of Nationalism*

the Nation-State.

But the clarity of focus on the nation as conterminous with the state cries out for a predominantly political explanation. Self-conscious nations emerged from the struggle for representative government, initially born of the pressures of state militarism. Whatever atrocities were later committed in the name of the nation, its emergence lay with those democratic ideals of this period that we most value today.²⁰,

Such an exercise being a current justification for the Zionist ideology which continues to pursue its State, irrespective of the Israeli population, both Jewish and Palestinian.¹⁰

As for the international Jewish communities which are constituted as a People hosting a national-identity, there is little sense in being led to believe that the interests of the Zionist State necessitates and justifies 'state militarism', when the same justification had been utilized for its own national-genocide, Judaeocide.

This fundamental contradiction in Jewish political culture is addressed here as well as the concurrent identity made between 'Jews' ('Yehudi') and the Zionist State - Zionism being the particular ideology of nationalism which upholds this State. This false identity made of the Jewish People and the Zionist State is also the attribute of the religious ideological tendency to make an identity of itself with the Nation as a theocratic State. Thus the Arab Nations are identified with Islam, by ideological criterion, in spite of the Jewish Arabic communities' presence (Sepharade, Mezrachi, and Yemenite). Likewise the Jewish Nation is identified with the State of Israel by the Zionist ideology even

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

though the 1948-67 territory is actually the ancient Phoenicia and Philistine, and not the once Kingdom of Solomon or David. During the period of Solomon, the Kingdom was a neighbouring territory smaller than the Land of Canaan, shared by various nations, resulting from the peace treaty with the Hittite Nation concluded by Joshua. Canaan existed as a pluralist society of seven nations nurturing the Aramaic dialect which became the common oral language, intermediary between ancient Hebrew and Arabic. Evidently such a constituted society is not a parallel to the modern nation-state named 'Israel' - neither socially, culturally nor territorially. Such contradictions lead to the conclusion that 'state militarism' is simply associated with the State alone and need not be considered a feature of Nation-building representing that which Mann comes to refer to as 'nation-statists'. This phenomenon is distinct from the process of national democratization and auto-determination.

The original class and social struggles in their particular national contexts, were and are tendencies in the process of democratization that has swept the continents and the centuries as illustrated by Michael Mann²¹, including gender and national identities (otherwise known as ethnic/cultural minorities). The consequence has been significant for the various struggles that have developed as a result of the joint character of the combined class and national dynamics. This aspect of permanent revolution arrives with the confluence of the various national formations in society, each of which seek the status of an equal person, and as such national membership, by definition. The process itself continues in spite of the absence of a State to claim the Form of the emergent Nation.

The criterion for an emergent Nation is recognized as being dependent

²¹ Sukumar Periwal (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 44-64, p. 48.

upon the proliferation of institutions of self-expression forming a civil society serving to distinguish a People as a Nation.¹² A further analysis by John Keane based upon the Yugoslav crisis sums up the advances made in this respect;

The Badinter report 'de-politicizes' and de-territorializes' national identity. It recaptures something of the eighteenth-century view, championed by thinkers like Burke and Herder, that nationality is best understood as a cultural entity; that is, as an identity belonging to civil society, not the state. It sees national identity as a 'civil' entitlement of citizens, the squeezing or attempted abolition of which, even when ostensibly pursued by states in the name either of higher forms of human solidarity or of protecting the 'core national identity' (Isaiah Berlin), serves only to trigger off resentment, hatred and violence among national groupings.²²

With the obligation to differentiate such social movements from the exercise of State-sponsored nationalism, Mann found it convenient to refer to 'state-subverting nationalism', a self-contradictory formulation, but appropriate. Mann also makes the association between the 'state-subverting nationalism' and the nature of civil society that is named federalism.

Since regionalists deeply opposed the former [Habsburg centralists], they increasingly sought to expand the latter, first into genuine federalism involving regional autonomies, then (when the empire would not concede this) into state-subverting nationalism.²³

This use of the term 'state-subverting nationalism' is the indication of a consciousness that is not essentially nationalist, in the Statist sense. This

²² Sukumar Periwal (ed.), *op. cit.*, John Keane, *Nations, Nationalism and European Citizens*, pp. 182-207, p. 201.

²³ Sukumar Periwal, (ed.), *op. cit.*, Michael Mann, *A Political Theory of Nationalism and its Excesses*, pp. 44-64, p. 49.

necessitates its own conceptual term which is associated with the Nation even though it is not tied to the State, and this is national-identity. As Keane acknowledges, "The distinction between national identity and nationalism - overlooked by many commentaries on the subject, including Eric Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* - is fundamental in this context."²⁴ This distinction is related to his fundamental distinction that, "democracy requires the institutional division between a certain form of state and civil society"²⁵, a Civil Society in the sense of 'res publica'.

The recognition and resolution of national-identity is to be found in federalism, although Mann and the theories of nationalism fail to resolve the co-existence of national-identity in the State, concluding pessimistically;

Mild nationalism - whether state-reinforcing or state-subverting - is democracy achieved, aggressive nationalism is democracy perverted. The solution is therefore, to achieve democracy - especially federal, inter-regional democracy. Unfortunately, this is easier said than done.²⁶

While having drawn the distinction between State-driven nationalism and the consciousness of state-subverting nations, Mann does not apply the differentiation necessary between Nation and State to postulate a form of federalism that is other than a self-contradictory mirage of a civil society that is supposedly independent of the State. Democracy remains imprisoned in

²⁴ Sukumar Periwal, (ed.), *op. cit.*, John Keane, *Nations, Nationalism and European Citizens*, pp. 182-207, p. 191.

²⁵ Sukumar Periwal, (ed.), *op. cit.*, John Keane, *Nations, Nationalism and European Citizens*, pp. 182-207, p. 187.

²⁶ Sukumar Periwal (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 44-64, p. 62.

Liberal theory by its subordination to the State taken as the Form of the Nation.

Theories of federalism nonetheless make some advances in terms of the treatment of consociationalism₁₃ and Max Weber follows such prescriptions for a "federation of nationalities under a supranational state"²⁷ much along the lines that were later expressed by the humanist-Zionist tendency associated with Martin Buber, who proposed a "multi-national state, based upon parity among the various nationalities".²⁸ Such proposals have not been fulfilled and remained idealist conceptions only due to the failure to distinguish the Nation from the State and consequently national-identity from nationalism. Keane recognizes the problem and makes reference to Karl Deutsch as symptomatic of this problematic impasse.

'State' and 'nation' came to be used interchangeably [...] Such expressions reinforce the assumption traceable to the eighteenth century, that there is no other way of defining the word 'nation' than as a territorial aggregate whose various parts recognize the authority of the same state, an assumption captured in Karl Deutsch's famous definition of a nation as 'a people who have hold of a state'.(7)₁₄

The theorist Elie Kedourie recognizes this failure of federalism in the Statist context,

²⁷ Sukumar Periwal (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²⁸ Martin Buber, Judah Magnus & Moses Smilansky, *Palestine A Bi-National State*, N.Y., IHUD (Union) Association of Palestine, August 1946, p. 46.

The national state claims to treat all citizens as equal members of the nation, but this fair-sounding principle only serves to disguise the tyranny of one group over another.²⁹

This pessimism is only a consequence of the ideological exclusivity of Statism and its ideology of nationalism which Kedourie describes as follows,

In nationalist doctrine, language, race, culture, and sometimes even religion, constitute different aspects of the same primordial entity, the nation. The theory admits here on no great precision, and it is misplaced ingenuity to try and classify nationalisms according to the particular aspect which they choose to emphasize. What is beyond doubt is that the doctrine divides humanity into separate and distinct nations, claims that such nations must constitute sovereign states, and asserts that the members of a nation reach freedom and fulfilment by cultivating the peculiar identity of their own nation and by sinking their own persons in the greater whole of the nation.³⁰

In reference to the Austrian Social Democrats' (Otto Bauer and Karl Renner) proposal for national-cultural autonomy, in the context of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Kedourie concludes;

attempts to stem the tide of nationalist discontents are seldom successful, since nationalists consider that political and cultural matters are inseparable, and that no culture can live if it is not endowed with a sovereign state exclusively its own.³¹

Here the reference to political and cultural matters is symptomatic of the

²⁹ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*. Hutchinson University Library, p. 127.

³⁰ Kedourie, *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³¹ Kedourie, *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

problem in that cultural identity is not considered 'political' in and of itself. The artificial dichotomy made between culture and politics in the nationalist context is the difficulty. Culture is thus postulated as being political only in the context of the State.

In the analysis of Power by Karl Deutsch, social cohesion is based upon the means of communication rather than the means of production and although his theory is relatively abstract he has chosen to put aside the 'subjective' definitions of nation as superficial. In so far as his orientation to the forms of communication remains materialist ¹⁵, with its cultural and economic consequences, his theory remains dislocated or abstract since it does not situate culture in the organisms which transmit such consciousness, and that is found in Civil Society. National formations are consequently debased to, "oppressed, submerged, or otherwise disadvantaged groups [...] [such as] Negro fellow citizens", when they are subject to a lack of Power. The preconception of the Nation as a 'people' self-conscious of its corporate identity based in a unity formed by the State, is tied to the formulations of Burke.³²

The notion of society in Deutsch is only defined in economic terms³³ while civil society is unmentioned and subjected to an extensive theory of social communication related to the economy again and only referred to as " 'The inner source of political power' " ³⁴, very much in the economic determinist tradition.¹⁶ Consequently, the nation is only considered as such according to Deutsch by virtue of the attribute of power which compels other

³² Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication : An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, Cambridge & London, The M.I.T. Press 1966 (1953), p. 21.

³³ Deutsch, *op cit.*, p. 29.

³⁴ Deutsch, *op cit.*, p. 75.

such formations to recognize it as a sovereign nation.

The defining characteristic of the nation according to Deutsch is simply power, in any other case he defines such formations as nationalities although they are otherwise indistinguishable from nations in general.³⁵ Such a criterion is simply a form of alienation by which the nation is considered from the externalized perspective alone which presents itself to the world at large by means of its self-governing economy thus becoming of interest to other such formations. As Deutsch puts it in his flippant manner, "The nation-state, it seems, is still the chief political instrument for getting things done".³⁶ The practice of using the term nationalities by Deutsch and others is an effort to overcome the actualities of national formations which are not befitted with its own State, thereby revealing the contradiction of the Nation-State concept as in John Kautsky, "...nationalism, the identification of state and nationality".³⁷ The utility of the term nationality is only appropriate for those nations which are situated in a number of different States, such as the Jewish, Palestinian, Kurdish, Berber, Gitan/Roma, Basque or Kashmiri case or, on behalf of a nation associated with a State but living also in a number of other States, such as the well known hyphenated Canadians or other such immigrant communities or national minorities; British-Canadians, French-Canadians, Irish-Americans, German-Americans, African-Americans, Jewish-Americans, or Israeli-Americans.³⁸ The term 'national-minorities' is debased since it contains an hierarchical connotation which implies an inferior status by virtue

³⁵ Deutsch, *op cit.*, p. 97, 101, 104.

³⁶ Deutsch, *op cit.*, p. 2, 4, 75.

³⁷ John Kautsky, *Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries : Nationalism and Communism*, (Huntington, N.Y., Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1976, p. 32.

³⁸ Youssef Kly, *The Black Book*, Atlanta, GA, Clarity Press, 1986, p. 26.

of being a minority and so alienated to a majoritarian established national consensus.

The 'National Principle' substitutes State for Nation as if to contradict Kedourie's awareness of the difference between perception and objective reality which explains how the perceived sense of a sovereign State is only an apparent manifestation of the Nation.

the sensations which the categories of our mind transform into objective experience we only know in space and time. Now space and time, Kant argued, are not properties of things; they are rather something contributed by the perceiving self to the sensations impinging on it.³⁹

In theories of nationalism, the Nation is perceived as a State and so assume the necessity of the latter, although Kedourie himself reveals in various instances how the Nation is historically independent of the State. His failing to maintain the differentiation of Nation and State into their derivatives, of national-identity and nationalism, leads to the collapse of this analysis and nationalist theories in general, as he admits;

The invention [nationalism] has prevailed, and the best that can be said for it is that it is an attempt to establish once and for all the reign of justice in a corrupt world, and to repair, for ever, the injuries of time. But this best is bad enough, since to repair such injuries other injuries must in turn be inflicted, and no balance is ever struck in the grisly account of cruelty and violence. [...] It is a question which, in the nature of the case, admits of no final and conclusive answer.⁴⁰₁₇

³⁹ Kedourie, *op cit.*, p. 33.

⁴⁰ Kedourie, *op cit.*, p. 139.

This is not to say that all theories of the Nation have been tainted with Statism. This critical overview of the political theories of nationalism is only limited to the Statist theoreticians. One may seek theoretical treatments of the Nation that do not limit themselves to State forms of appearance. The problem is rooted in the Eurocentric definition of State which is found in the *Treaty of Westphalia* Article VI, "States (therein comprehending the Nobility, which depend immediately on the Empire)".⁴¹

The colleague of Martin Buber's, the Jewish-German political philosopher Gustav Landauer, went beyond the confines of the State to declare that,

The state, with its police and all its laws and its contrivances for property rights, exists for the people as a miserable replacement for 'Geist' [Nation] and for organisations with specific purposes; and now the people are supposed to exist for the sake of the state, which pretends to be some sort of ideal structure and a purpose in itself, to be 'Geist'. [...] Earlier there were corporate groups, clans, guilds, fraternities, communities, and they all interrelated to form society. Today there is coercion, the letter of the law, the state.⁴²

As in Kedourie, Michael Mann chooses to differentiate between Nation and State without drawing the corollary of the distinction between national-identity and nationalism. By identifying the State with the self-realization of the Nation as an independent self-sufficient and sustainable entity, there is a

⁴¹ Holy Roman Emperor & King of France, 'Treaty of Westphalia', Article VI, *Global Policy Forum*, On-line, <<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/172/30574.html>>, Consulted October 12, 2014.

⁴² Charles Maurer, *Call to Revolution : The Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1971, p. 93.

general lack of correspondence of national entities and a given State since organic diversity cannot correspond to the formal limitations of the State. As a result, the theories of nationalism treat national conflict as inevitable.

The danger rests that having distinguished between Nation and State, the 'National Doctrine', in defining the State as an essential attribute giving precedence to the existence of the State rather than the Nation turns against itself in principle. The rationalization of the Hegelian State continues in the name of the Nation but not as the Nation, only as 'nationalism'.

Landauer's rejection of the State allows him to have remained aloof from the Zionist movement, unlike Buber. He remarks, "Strong emphasis on one's own nationality, even when it does not lead to chauvinism, is weakness 14".⁴³ His subsequent rejection of a Zionist State was indicative of such analysis. The prospect he projects of a "Gesellschaft von Gesellschaften" (a society of societies) is reminiscent of the Proudhon formulation in his *Federal Principle*; 'a federation of federations'.

Another recently uncovered treatment of national-identity written by Sigmund Freud in 1930 is indicative of the wealth of perspectives available outside of the confines of the Statist theories of nationalism.

⁴³ Charles Maurer, *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Je'aurais trouvé plus sensé de fonder une patrie juive sur une terre moins grevée d'histoire. Mais je reconnais qu'un point de vue aussi rationnel aurait peu de chance d'obtenir l'enthousiasme des gens et le soutien financier des riches.⁴⁴
18

Je concède avec tristesse que le fanatisme infondé de notre peuple soit en partie à blâmer pour avoir éveillé la méfiance Arabe. Je ne puis cultiver de sympathie pour une piété mal dirigée qui transforme un morceau du mur d'Héroïde en relique nationale offensant ce faisant les sentiments de autochtones.⁴⁵
19

One is thus obligated to move outside the parameters and paradigms of the political theory of nationalism if there is to be a resolution of the incompatibilities presented by the Statist model. Trevor Purvis also concludes that, "as a hegemonic project, the unity of the people-nation constituted by the modern state has always been open to contestation. In turn this has implied an open character to the nation, one that belies its mythological closure in the discourses of nationalism."⁴⁶

While the works on nationalism are rich in overview and opinion, the approach that is explored in this work seeks to meet the needs of current conflict resolution and in particular the Palestinian-Zionist knot. It is with such a perspective in mind that one may express the desire for the means by which such a conflict may be resolved, in meeting the essential needs of each nation

⁴⁴ Henri Tincq, 4 juillet 2003, Sigmund Freud, 'Freud contre l'« expérance injustifiée » du sionisme', *Le Monde*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, Paolo Di Stefano.

⁴⁵ Sigmund Freud, *Freud Museum London*, On-line, < <http://www.freud.org.uk/> >, Consulted October 12, 2014 and, On-line, < <http://prod.indymedia.ch/itmix/2003/07/12518.shtml> >, Consulted 2005, and, On-line, < <http://www3.sympatico.ca/beili/> >, Consulted 2005.

⁴⁶ Trevor Purvis, 'Marxism & Nation', pp. 33-56, April-May-June 1996, *Socialist Studies Bulletin / Bulletin d'Études Socialistes*, Number 44, Ottawa, Society for Socialist Studies, p. 51.

involved, leaving aside the categorical imperatives of the State.

0.4 Rationale ₂₀

Fundamental to this discussion and the deductions to be derived, is the distinction being made between national-identity and nationalism. It may be noted that the voluminous treatment of nationalism has not arrived at a resolution of the various conflicting expressions of nationalist ideology. The nature of nationalism is related to its Statist orientation, giving rise to an ideological rationale for its sovereignty. However, such a State self-determination will tend to present the case for its superiority with respect to other such formations as the means by which its own security and sovereignty are guaranteed. The self-defence mechanism of the State is defined in militarist terms. Recognizing this state of affairs leads to the recognition of nationalism as the ideological attribute of the State. Nationalism remains unresolvable as is the nature of State relations. National identity, however, is not necessarily associated with a State formation and often precedes the formation of a State. Empirically then, national-identity and nationalism are distinct conceptual entities.

The impasse of nationalism in terms of its co-existence with other such expressions is at the root of the proposition for the eventual abolition of national consciousness itself, even though its associated State is nonetheless preserved in a stasis of stabilized inter-State relations. Such a prospect is necessarily utopian and is based merely in the possibility of a hegemonic State-power capable of exercising its will upon other State formations in a balance of forces. This has been known as a Pax Romana or a Pax Americana and has proven to be of limited duration, although it does tend to replicate itself.

National-identity persists in spite of the various State formations and their ideological rationalizations. Rather than a vestige of pre-modernist times, national-identity challenges State formations and their hegemonic ambitions. Statism has been unable to resolve the existence of its prodigy. Furthermore, the decline of the State has not been resolved by an alternative form of Statism. One impediment has been the presumption that the Nation only exists as in the Form of the State, leaving the Nation as mere content.

Necessarily, the Nation is inversed here to be the Form, with the State as its transitory Content by an elaborated conceptualization of national-identity. Therein lies the difference between nationalism and national-identity; in that they treat Nation and State in opposite manners, reversing the relation between Form and Content.

National-identity, as a conceptual entity, reverses the Hegelian relation to make the Form as Nation and the Content as the State. In reversing the relation, the potential for an alternative content becomes apparent. Rather than replacing the State with another State, when the former falters, it becomes possible to consider replacing the State with another Content. Now, by abandoning the hypothesis of the inevitable evolution to a universal identity (in a homogenous State), national-culture becomes a significant foundation upon which a social formation may coalesce forming a society with other such cultures. Annulling universal homogeneity allows for a diversity of methodology to find its balance of reciprocity in a federated society composed of the various civil societies already organized on the local level. The federation of civil societies has the potential to provide the stability for the National-cultures to live in peace with one another, without ideological nationalism, while preserving their own national-identity. After all, national-identity is based in the independence to utilize one's own cultural intelligence while not

being dependent upon another and still being able to learn from other such autonomous national-collectives.

The primordial consciousness of culture is usually expressed in language(s). This is an attribute of a culture that is usually treated to the hierarchy of power assigning an official State language, in spite of the diversity found in society at large or within a particular national culture. However, not even a federation of language can overcome the hegemonic power of the State. The dependent national-language is associated with the depressed economic status of the secondary nation, so associating class differentiations with national existence. In consequence, the class question becomes a 'national question', when the equality of language is constrained by the inequality of economic power. The dependent underdevelopment of the status of a language also gives rise to empirical presumptions of superiority, providing the formal rational for racism.

The nature of national identity has been mis-diagnosed to the extent that national relations have been responsible for the last century's exorbitant number of casualties; more than 100 million. This is the continuing actuality of our epoch in spite of the Wilsonian call (originally Painist, becoming Leninist) for self-determination in the aftermath of the First European World War.

The need for a methodology of national-identity is apparent and possible if the Nation is treated as Form rather than Content. This work will proceed to that end.

0.5 Remarks

The reader is to be presented with a discussion of how a given national entity may seek its auto-determination, and in this particular case it is a national minority. It may be any national minority but in one case, that is, my own, it is the case of the national minority of the Yiddish-speaking/Germanic language community of the European Ashkenazi Jewish People. This Nation provides the framework for my perspective with the result that the discussion proceeds by taking into consideration the context of a minority national community. Although this may be unusual for a treatment that impinges upon national identity, so disorienting those who may be accustomed to thinking from the context of a majoritarian culture, nonetheless the benefit lies in perceiving the effects of the mainstream political perspective upon those communities with whom they must surely be sharing a Society. Such a point of departure in the discussion of the Nation is necessarily not a matter of choice for the minoritarian nor the majoritarian identity.

The consequences of proceeding from the perspective of the minority national community include the consideration that one has acquired a developed sense of the national consciousness which forms the collective conscious of that social entity. Accordingly the matter of whether the nation exists apart from the State is no longer a question. It is the question itself that is then perceived as Ideology and so put into question, rather than the question being the national-identity.

The heritage which I have absorbed by osmosis as well as by education has been an amalgam of the Warsaw Bundist movement together with the Modern Orthodox workers' culture of Lublin, Poland , by way of each of my parents' traditions. The socio-economic class perspective has been that of the

lower working-class socialist position tempered by the anti-Stalinism engendered by the experience of surviving as refugees in the 'Soviet Union' during the Nazi occupation of most of Europe. The experience of being raised as a second generation Holocaust survivor by parents who emerged by means of the Jewish resistance, led to encounters with various cultures and political perspectives. Beginning with the Germanic Yiddish as a maternal language, an acculturation to Anglophone Toronto occurs in an autonomous manner while having maintained another national identity. Proceeding through the two parallel educational systems leads one to become imbibed with traditional Orthodox non-Zionist studies while coming to experience the B'Nai Akiva youth movement's Zionist ideology, parallel to the Likud bloc today in the Israeli Knesset/Parliament. In addition, my experience of passing through the preparation of the Bar Mitzvah ritual creates an identity with the ancient Hebrew and Aramaic languages, in both the textual and chanting modes. The 'mélange' of Oriental and Occidental tendencies leads to both a cosmopolitan perspective alongside an ethnocentrism. The tendency which assumed the primary position was the Inter-National/s perspective which took the form of Marxist Trotskyism soon after religion was left aside as utopian. However, the minoritarian national consciousness came to the fore with the alienation from the majoritarian culture of the centralized Leninist party formation. Evidently such an organizational formation seeks to adopt the character of the State and the cultural character of the class it seeks to become the vanguard of, in effect a pre-state exclusive formation. This problematic was previously referred to as 'the national question', or, 'the Jewish question'.

During the course of developing a critique of the ideology of Zionism it became necessary to formulate a perspective to accommodate the national minoritarian consciousness while differentiating it from the prevailing national exclusiveness which had become a predominant political expression amongst

the Jewish communities. While the Marxist writings provide what seems to be the basis of a critique of national exclusiveness, further research uncovers the divergences among opposing tendencies of such thought demonstrating how compromised the ability of the Marxist organizations were in treating issues of national minorities in their own context.

Lenin unreservedly supported Stalin's document on the national question, writing to Maxim Gorki in 1913, "We have a wonderful Georgian here who has sat down to write a big article [...]." Later he also commented, "The (national) question is a burning issue, and we shall not yield one jot of principle to the Bundist [Jewish] scum." And again,

Kobe [Stalin] has managed to write a long article [...] on the national question. Good! We must fight for the truth and against separatists and opportunists of the Bund among the Liquidators.⁴⁷

In his own writings Lenin later presented a more flexible approach to Ukrainian nationalism and other manifestations of national consciousness. Writing in his Last Testament, Lenin took great care in dealing with the Georgian national identity.

However, the inability of the Marxist body of theory in general to cope with the national identity of minority nationalities become a barrier for those of the minority nationality, due to the lack of a programme for national existence and the perpetuation of national chauvinism in Leninist-Stalinist practice. Marxist social theory does not provide for national identity in face of the projected universal class of the proletariat, and the preponderance of

⁴⁷ Joseph Stalin, 'Marxism and the National Question', *Marxism and the National-Colonial Question*, San Francisco, CA, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, pp. 96, 97.

materialist methodology; "Thus, 'the principle of international solidarity of the workers is an essential element' in the solution of the national question."⁴⁸₂₁ The flexibility of socialist theory is nevertheless open to an interpretation of national identity which should be explored and forms a combined development of class and national dynamics in this work.

Further to the individual perspective, which I carry with me is the matter of language which is a sensitive issue to most peoples and to the Québécois-es (Kébécoiz) Nation in particular. The experience of the 1968 march for French unilingualism (or priority) in Montréal called The Battle of St-Leonard of 1968, lent a visible manifestation to French language identity legitimating such a consciousness, in particular for those who did not maintain a primary identity with the English language. At the same time, it is necessary to consider that language is not an exclusive or not even a necessary determinant in national identity. It is possible to come to such a conclusion very simply because my own language allows me to say that, 'Sti eine kenen reddén mit diee alte Mittle-Haucht/Plats Deutsche, fharvouse ist kene nisht zein ein Deutsche'? That is to say, if one can speak in the old Middle-High German dialect, why then can such a person not be considered German. The answer I find is that even language is not an absolute criterion of nationality. Amongst the Jewish People there are a multiplicity of languages in historical practice and current usage; ancient Hebrew, modern Hebrew, Aramaic, Yiddish, Arabic, Ladino, Jewish dialects of Iran, Turkey, etcetera. It is not necessary to exhibit one unifying language to be a nation, even though this evidence is in contradiction to the prevailing consciousness among most Nations, including the Nation found predominantly in the region of Québec. The very name of Québec is not of the French language, and being of the

⁴⁸ Sperling, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Algonkian tongue it is a word that is appropriately spelled in its original pronunciation with a 'K' as it was written by certain early French writers who first met the indigenous inhabitants. The Kébékois language is then not exclusively French in origin. In this manner, a single common language is not necessarily an essential characteristic of a Nation. French may be the official language of the State and the working language, but that is another matter. This is evident from the perspective of a Nation which does not practice any one particular language as a sole national tongue. The attempt to impose an official Hebrew language upon the Jewish People is merely an ideological position in contradiction to the nature of the Jewish Nation. Mono-culture is a fabrication of the State with its official language and ideology.

The impetus to deconstruct the various national conceptions that have arisen out of the ideological treatment of national consciousness derives from my position as a member of an Inter-National/s People. This Inter-National/s concept has the effect of bouncing off the perceptions of most interpretations of nationalist theory but this position puts one into the interface of various nations and consequently allows for the distinction of the fundamental commonalities of national consciousness. The conclusions that arise most easily to one in the position of a national-minority is that the Nation exists as a People rather than as a State, and that a People need not identify themselves by formal criteria such as territory, a State, a particular language, or a particular Deity for that matter. The term used often in place of national-minority, ethnic-minority, serves to obscure such conclusions.

Although Stalin referred to such a social formation as a tribe, this definition was only an attribute of his polemic.

Stalin is particularly intent upon denying the existence of the Jews as a nation. This was a function of the debate occurring within the socialist forces at the time...⁴⁹

Actually, there are a far greater number of factors than those listed by Stalin that interplay to form a dynamic popular culture which gives rise to the political phenomenon of a Nation.

It is becoming apparent that national consciousness is no longer the vanishing sentiment of Nations that are fading under the wave of global modernization. Adam Michnik refers to *Nationalism : Awakening Monster*⁵⁰ where we may read the account that,

...[T]he fit between nation and state - which has rarely been a perfect one - is bound to get worse. A look at demographic data is revealing. Of the 132 major states with more than one million inhabitants, only 12 can be described as ethnically homogeneous. Another 25 states have a single ethnic group constituting 90% of the population. In 31 states the dominant ethnic group accounts for between 50% and 74% of all people. There are 39 major states where no single ethnic group accounts for half of the population. In other words, the homogeneous nation-state is an exception in this world and any attempt to make nation and state one is bound to lead to catastrophe. The shortest definition of genocide is, after all, 'the destruction of a nation by the state'. [On the other hand, if each ethnic group were given a nation-state of its own, we would have several thousand states. The economic viability of most of these mini-nations would be illusory. With the world economy rapidly becoming one global market, political disintegration is likely to reduce the competitiveness of small states. Yet in what other manner

⁴⁹ Sperling, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Adam Michnik, 'Nationalism: Awakening Monster', *XX Century and Peace*, (10/90), p. 14; Gerry Sperling, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

than through statehood can the apparently growing desire for group identity be accommodated? Should not the very concept of the sovereign centralized state be rethought as the number and mobility of people increases, and as territory and its use and preservation are becoming a common concern for all mankind [sic]? What are the solutions? Is minority rights, as understood in international law, the most feasible framework for an appropriate nation vs. state compromise? ⁵¹

This state of affairs is not new for the Jewish People who have sought to cohabit in various societies as a minority for a prolonged period of time with greater or lesser degrees of success, being faced with the homogeneous nation-state in the Occidental regions of the world. One significant consequence has been to lead a great many Jewish people to conclude that replicating that manner of social organization is a necessary condition for independence and security. To the extent that such an exclusivist view takes hold of the current social tendencies we could be faced with a cascading series of events such as unfolded in Bosnia or Kosova where a Serbian minority party sought to establish its homogeneity over a Nation-State and which is now excluded in negative reciprocity. The prospects for the continual contestation over territorial possession, as has happened in Palestine, are seemingly well entrenched.

Continuing with the analysis of national phenomena, one is motivated by the prospect of avoiding civil wars and regional conflicts, based upon the goal of avoiding the self-defeating struggle for exclusive self-determination.

The approach to the analysis of national phenomena is a process of

⁵¹ *Global Issues 1994*; cited in *A Popular Guide to Minority Rights*, Kly (ed.), Atlanta, GA, Clarity Press, 1995, p. 5.

deconstruction of the current concepts underpinning the nature of international relations, a process which bears comparison to the Fragmentation process that is underway in many States currently. The purpose of this particular effort is thus to bring the various refined conceptualizations into focus providing a lucid methodology of operation for the proposed reconciliation of Inter and Intra-National relations.

0.6 Hypothesis

A social formation that has generated a society may be based in a national-culture as it exists in reciprocity with other suchlike formations. Such a project is possible through the mutual recognition in a common society amongst the major constituent nationalities, as well as the proportionally less populous nationalities. Consequently, the same methodology of reciprocal recognition may be applied among the global Societies and Nations.

The relations engendered by the various national cultures and their contextual societies form the Inter and Intra-National dynamic of a resolution towards mutual recognition, reciprocal interchanges and mutual aid. However, there is imposed upon this structural Form a superstructure of State formations that establish the International system of politics. This defines the distinction between the terms 'Inter-National/s'₂₂ - concerning relations between Nations - and the term 'International', that relates to the relations between States, as in the UNO (United Nations Organization). This distinction between Form and Content, in terms of the Nation (or nations) and the State respectively, is parallel to the pillar in Platonic philosophy, (according to his editor Francis

Macdonald Cornford)⁵² which is, "the belief in a world of intelligible Forms or 'Ideas' existing independently of the things we see and touch." A Nation's cultural content is distinct from the State structure that encapsulates it. This distinction is found in the use of the Greek terms 'Polis' and 'Demos', meaning City-State and the People respectively; with the Latin term 'Natio' (Nation), being more closely associated with the People while 'Patria', is reserved for the State.²³ Even if the terms State and Nation are treated as interchangeable, and named 'the Nation-State' as is so often the case, the distinction between the two is evident in that the consciousness of the Nation is the idea that exists in itself - though not necessarily for itself alone. The State however exists for itself and its own perpetuation, seeking to perpetuate its self-image by means of the Nation.

To begin with, it is not even necessary to delve into the question of whether historically the State precedes the Nation, or the Nation precedes the State - although it usually has - it is sufficient to consider that the State and the Nation are distinct from one-another. A national collectivity may seek to replicate itself by Statist means to maintain its existence 'beyond the reach of time and change' in perpetuity. But as Cornford states in quoting Plato, "The Muses themselves pronounce the doom of the ideal state before it has even seen the light: 'Hard as it may be for a state so framed to be shaken, yet, since all that comes into being must decay, even a fabric like this will not endure for ever, but will suffer dissolution' (546 A, p. 269)".⁵³ With the decay of the State there rests this Form, which is the idea of the Nation in the consciousness of its People. The accumulation of experiences by this collectivity embellishes

⁵² Francis Cornford, (ed.), 'Introduction', *The Republic of Plato*, London, Oxford University Press, 1972-3, p. xxvii.

⁵³ Cornford, *Ibid.*, 'Introduction', p. xxviii.

the national-culture. By means of its culture, a national-community endures while the mechanism of the State may indeed harm the body politic of the Nation.

If the consciousness of the Nation were to alter, it would naturally undergo auto-transformation, since a People lives on while the State, being inanimate, inevitably ceases to exist. Admittedly, the manner in which a Nation transforms is obscure and it may even cease to exist under certain conditions such as genocide, or assimilation.²⁴ Nonetheless, there remains a qualitative difference between the two states of being - the Nation and the State. The social organism, or Society, should be considered a consciousness held not by itself but by the collectivity of its participants. The collective consciousness of a Society is based more-so upon the national-culture of the particular Nation that forms the major component of the social formation based in that society. This is so because it is the Nation that retains the historical memory of its origins and development, in a more profound manner than a Society is capable of and that a State has an interest in doing.

Currently we see the 'Fragmentation' of the State into various Nations that have retained their historic memory. With the imposition of the State formation, the equality of national status is compromised by the centralized nature of that structure and its accompanying cultural homogenization or the dictatorship of a majority, or, perhaps even a minority of the citizens. The lack of collective rights within the State, in this manner, compromises the rights of the individual to their national or collective identity. Minority national collectives in particular are hampered by the imposition of a majoritarian dictatorship (in the Hobbesian sense). This lack of national recognition results in the Fragmentation taking place at an accelerating pace over the course of this past century and into the present.

As originally perceived in the "Federal Principle",⁵⁴ it is possible to conceive of Society as composed of various social formations that are nationally-autonomous, as Proudhon did. Such a proposition distinguishes Society from the State, which can be loosely defined here as an exclusive property in territory that contains a certain population of individuals expected to serve its interests.

As a consequence of this Proudhonist conception of Society, it is projected here that the nature of social representation may be altered to form a criterion of approval that is based upon a consensus of unanimity amongst the various social formations, rather than simply majoritarianism (or democracy as it is named). The social process that is unanimity takes root in the collective network of social formations based in their particular autonomous social orientation. Unanimity becomes the ongoing series of negotiations for the allocation of scarce resources and the development of the means to supply the social needs that are projected on a proportional basis. The lack of particular resources gives rise to an accelerating momentum towards global societal interaction engendering an Inter-National/s climate of exchange in resources, technology, nationalities, culture and information.

In actual practice the various examples of national-cultural autonomy, in particular the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederation, the *HAUDENOSAUNEE*₂₅, provide certain guidelines by which to approach the case of the Israel-Palestinian conflict with the intent of reconciling this war of Peoples.

⁵⁴ Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *The Federal Principle*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

0.7 On Methodology

It may be stated that what one desires may be construed as ideology, while that which can be perceived as a credible option is politics. The nature of history is such that necessity imposes itself irrespective of consciousness. The principle methodology for analysis considered here is that of necessary social interests, as distinguished from sectarian interests emanating from administrative enterprises. In political life there has been an ideological conditioning engendered by the super-power State formations. They have sought to respond to the necessities of political existence by attempting to create those conditions which make the adoption of one ideology or another obligatory. This ideological obligation has been justified as being a matter of inevitability or expediency. During this past century, we have either been obligated to remain loyal to the working-class struggle or obliged to maintain a patriotic fervour. This realm of necessity is only necessary in the Hegelian sense of 'the real being the only rational'. This tautological foisting of the current relation of forces as being the rational outcome of natural tendencies is not what is proposed here by the sense of necessity being the driving force of a methodology.

Rather than examining the relation of forces, as in State structures, one examines the prevailing consciousness and its operative tendencies. Furthermore, one considers the necessity of any given proposition by testing its validity in de-contextualizing any particular idea, Right or principle from the arena in which it was derived, to determine its credibility. By such a method of analysis, it is found that seeking out threads of thought in differing theoretical works often produces a network of conceptions that offers a more sophisticated result, than seeking to modify any one particular thought system alone.²⁶ Likewise, among the differing cultures one can find complementary

tendencies which reinforce one another, to counter the prevailing consciousness found in any of the cultures concerned.

The prospect that a possible critique may consider such work as methodological adventurism, or being some form of dreaded centrism, is not shocking. Here again in response, it seems to be necessary to overcome the impasse presented by the prevailing theories of political culture nonetheless, since there has not been an adequate sensitivity to the recurring failures of the recent past.

Fundamentally, to begin an investigation of a subject one begins with nothing, the unknown, by definition. This is obvious since there is no need to investigate a topic that is known. This fundamental acknowledgement must be made in order to remove the obstructions that have previously impeded the resolution of the problem. In this work the deconstruction of concepts is conducted in the pursuit of tendencies and dynamics that reveal the origin and conceptual context. This has the effect of de-ideologizing the study. A critique alone is of course insufficient and the reconstruction of the underlying conceptual meanings may be expected to bring a clarity to bear, together with a productive theory. Such a theory must be open to implementation and testing, together with its methodology, subject to further transformation, so allowing for its own internally generated praxis. As Aristotle puts it, "the theory is the child of our wishes".⁵⁵ This work develops a methodology based upon an historical investigation but one that is other than historical materialism. In such a methodological investigation we do not presume to balance the various elements that will be laid out in order to provide an overall resultant of the significance of national identity according to a moral or

⁵⁵ Aristotle, *The Politics*, Buffalo, Prometheus Books, 1986, p. 224.

ideological standard. We need not dwell upon what goes into making the consciousness of a Nation to determine its role among the political forces of social life irrespective of the projection that it has been instilled with or that one may wish to provide it with.

It will be shown that there is no uniform nature of National-Identity. This phenomenon exerts contradictory influences in different situations. It also manifests contradictory attributes simultaneously. It is no wonder that the phenomenon of national consciousness is described in such wildly divergent, if not contradictory terms, by different observers. The treatment of national consciousness here allows for contradictory tendencies and seeks to examine the opposing facets in and of themselves. As a result, we may detect the consequences of the differing tendencies that are operational. The internally counterpoised attributes of national consciousness themselves define the Nation in contradictory terms. In order to examine the various definitions of the Nation we are obliged to look at the underlying consciousness that makes such criteria appear to be real.

In this manner, this study seeks to merge the various threads of thought to a conclusion focussed on the precise issue that is placed before us - the manner of national minorities and their existence in societies at large. In effect this concerns us all, since in one way or another everyone is *minoritaire*, and in the Inter-National/s context we are all represented by national minorities.²⁷

The Fragmentation in progress everywhere in the existing State formations is an historic dynamic of the differentiation taking place in heterogeneous social structures, even though these societies may be conceived of as being homogenous. This process acts in opposition to the 'stasis' of International relations, in effect, the balance of power, 'big-power politics'²⁸

, as is evident in the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and its allies, under the impact of the various struggles for national independence. This then is a strategic dynamic in operation alongside the experiments to engineer continental economic units in deference to the economic law of competition by the various States or rather such State alliances. In so doing, this Globalization disregards existing State prerogatives as well.²⁹

The global process of Fragmentation is a consequence of the differentiation to be made between equality, in both the individual and collective sense, as opposed to the homogenous conception. As the human inhabitants of this planet sought to stabilize the construction of their permanent living environment, social entities conceived of the means for their own survival in isolation, without the aid of any other similar entity. This has been a reflection of the lack of means to generate the necessary lines of communication, as well as the necessary will. The lack of means in these efforts to achieve security, or self-sufficiency, results in the social differentiation within the social entity, while seeking its autonomous existence by means of some form of exploitation. As each social unit becomes assured of its capacity to maintain its own 'autonomy' - or above all reject the dependence put into place by another force - it may succumb to the recourse of dominance/dependence, by using another People's presence to guarantee its own survival while excluding them from its social structure. It is at that crucial moment that a fracture is created, with or without the society's own survival assured.

The question posed is; if a social formation seeking to overcome dependency of some sort is to achieve autonomy, by which method is such an entity to achieve its self-sufficiency? Is it by replicating that which is known to

result in its existing unstable social dynamic, with the inevitability of further fractures? Since the conditions are presently still in place for perpetual war in the prevailing consciousness of the exclusivist State, there is an obligation to practice continuous and permanent transformation to arrest the dynamic for competitive aggrandizement.

How social entities can exercise their autonomy without recreating the same project that has provided them with the motivation to leave a given homogeneous system is the reason for the existence of this work and addresses the problematic presented here initially. Without a perspective for change, the least contested and most credible solution at any given moment is the tendency to replicate the same method from which one wishes to separate, before it is recognized as such. Consequently, one does not escape hegemony but merely replicates and then replaces one elite with another - offering the appearance of the searched for identity. A revolution within a revolution is the resultant and the means to maintain the transformative process without being frozen into the inherent tendency that would be arrested at the frontier of consciousness. That is; the boundaries of the single national identity forming itself for itself, without necessarily considering the consciousness of other such identities, is inhibiting the ability to attain mutual coexistence. Lacking a method to reciprocally exchange the means of existence, there would be no peace and inevitably no society either in the event of a civil war - this being a situation where contending nations each seek to establish a State apparatus over the other, whether that singularity be minoritarian or majoritarian.

The Peoples to which reference will be made as examples are the Jewish, Palestinian and Québécois/e, in deference to the crucial problem between the former two cases and the dynamism and innovation of an emerging national culture in the latter.

With respect to the polemics that rage about the Zionist current, while I do not identify with such a theory and practice, it is not necessary to wage an ideological offensive to make a critique of Zionism, in order to make its limitations obvious. To know the originating compulsions inherent in that ideology requires a precise and honest examination of the context to which it makes reference, that is the European Christian Nation-States. Not taking such a context into consideration would make a blanket rejection of its subjective nature just another ideological blinder, a fate previously reserved for work-horses. Consequently, the critique of Zionism leads to a critique of the Nation-State itself since the State of Israel is not exceptional in terms of State militarism.

0.8 In Conclusion

Considering the degree of polarization in matters of a self-identity, the most rigorous of proofs is required in the elaboration of the hypothesis in recognition of academic norms. Having been enchanted with the methodological proofs of my studies in the mathematical and physical sciences, the method of analysis here tends toward the format of the theorem. However, that which is named the scientific method does not leave me with a favourable impression, being a scientifically obsolete formalist classical methodology.⁵⁶₃₀ Cause-effect relations are only applicable to the most simplified experiments and does not take into consideration multiple causes and multiple effects.⁵⁷ Causality is only functional when the illusion of exclusive causal inferences is maintained. Such exclusivity is merely a prior assumption and nothing more.

⁵⁶ Georg Lukàcs, *History and Class Consciousness*, London, Merlin Press, 1968, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Lukàcs, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Such is scientism, as it is found in the methodology proposed by Karl Deutsch.⁵⁸ As explained by Sartre;

This is to fall back again to the level of scientific determinism. The dialectical method, on the contrary refuses to 'reduce'; it follows the reverse procedure. It surpasses by conserving, but the terms of the surpassed contradiction cannot account for either the transcending itself or the subsequent synthesis; on the contrary, it is the synthesis which clarifies them and which enables us to understand them. For us the basic contradiction is only one of the factors which delimit and structure the field of possibles; it is the choice which must be interrogated if one wants to explain them in their detail, to reveal their singularity (that is, the particular aspect in which 'in this case' generality is presented), and to understand how they have been lived. It is the work or the act of the individual which reveals to us the secret of his conditioning. [...] What we call freedom is the irreducibility of the cultural order to the natural order.⁵⁹

The empirical scientific experimental method is merely a technique and not a method.

In conserving the concept of Nation in its organic conception while delimitating the empirical context of the Nation-State, revealing its contradiction and surpassing it to reveal the functioning Civil Society, it is possible to overcome the impasse presented by the continual conflict of nation-states, so affirming the cultural order over the political. This is not to say that one would "escape from scientific determinism only to fall into absolute idealism".⁶⁰ Consciousness itself is a manifestation of historical forces which

⁵⁸ Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87; note Chapter 4, #2.

⁵⁹ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Search for a Method*, New York, Vintage Books, (1963) 1968, pp. 151-152.

⁶⁰ Sartre, *Ibid.*, p. 162.

surpass any particular subjective perspective. The collective consciousness may be examined, not as the product of the means of production alone, but as a social power.

As for the question of the validity of the concept of the deity or Deity, this work is not concerned with treating the positions posited in this matter and makes reference to the deity as a concept alone leaving the theological discussion to the side. It is not necessary to this discussion to consider the validity of any concept in relation to the theocratic norm, for it is questionable if validity has meaning in this respect.

As a note to the reader on the structure of the work; VOLUME ONE provides the methodological framework for the discussion by marking the differentiation between Nation, Civil Society and State, as well as 'Race'. While the first section of the Chapter I - 1.0, treats the State and Civil Society with reference to Rousseau, Hegel and other German theorists, the third section (I-3.0) presents the ties between Civil Society and the Nation so featuring Proudhon. In VOLUME TWO there is the development of the methodology to operationalize the Nation as Civil Society. The International/s legal and social consequences of auto-determination in opposition to the prevailing set of international relations is found in the second Chapter. The internal consequences of mutual recognition by reciprocity are found in the third Chapter. The fourth Chapter, on the world hegemonic currents, develops the duality of identity. The fifth Chapter concludes in a critique of Zionism, while contributing to the understanding of the Jewish national-identity. The methodology derived from this development provides for a critique with diplomatic and constitutional implications.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. See Sartre's dilemma as cited by Thierry Hentsch's *Imagining the Middle East*, Black Rose Books, Montréal, 1992, p. 177.
2. The term 'anti-'Semitism'' is originally itself a racist construction which promotes the idea of a Semitic 'race' and the alternative rendering of 'antisemitism' serves to confuse the issue, since it is applicable equally to the Arabic culture, in particular.
3. Paul Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth: A Study of the Nazi Concentration Camps and the Alleged Extermination of European Jewry*, Torrance, CA, Institute for Historical Review, Noontide Press, 1978.
4. See Esther Delisle, *The Traitor and the Jew*, 1992, and Catherine Pomeyrols, *Les Intellectuels Québécois : Formation et Engagements 1919-1939*, L'Harmattan.
5. Without a single Nation posited there is thus no ideological need for a single Head of State, as in the Monarchic sense.
6. See Dr. Salaman Abu Sitta's demographic studies, An End to Exile, *Al-Ahram Weekly*, March 9-15, 2000, *Outlook*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Jan.Feb. 2003, p. 42.
7. 11. Gellner, *Thought and Change*, p. 169.
8. John Hall, 'Nationalisms, Classified and Explained', pp. 8-33, *Notions of Nationalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

9. The Israeli historian Benny Morris, who has contributed to the 'post-Zionist' research nonetheless states;

the need to establish this state in this place overcame the injustice that was done to the Palestinians by uprooting them. [...] If he [Ben-Gurion] had carried out a full expulsion - rather than a partial one - he would have stabilized the State of Israel for generations.

On-line, < <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/380984.html> >, *Haaretz*, January 09, 2004, Tevet 15, 5764, Consulted 2004.

10. Reports indicate 64% of Israeli public want Israel to seek a negotiated ceasefire with the HAMAS-led government in Gaza. On-line, 'Poll: Most Israelis Want Truce With Hamas', *CBSNEWS*, On-line, < <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2008/02/27/world/main3882055.shtml> >, Consulted October 12, 2014 and, On-line, 'Poll: Most Israelis back direct talks with Hamas on Shalit', *Haaretz*, < <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=958473&contrassID=1&subContrassID=7> >, Consulted October 12, 2014.

11. In their demand for political citizenship for 'the people' and 'the nation' ² after prolonged social struggles, such labels were usually restricted for much of the nineteenth century to bourgeois and petty bourgeois males drawn from dominant religious and ethnic group, but later the peasantry, the working class, minorities and eventually women - joined people and nation. 2. Some would argue that this process occurred rather earlier in England. Kohn (1967) and Greenfeld (1992) believe English conceptions of nation and nationalism arose in the seventeenth-century struggle against monarchical taxation (reinforced by a religious populism).

Sukumar Periwal, (ed.). *op. cit.*, pp. 44-64, 48.

12. virtually everywhere, nationalist movements focused on existing political units, provinces with distinct assemblies or administrations centred on old political units.

Sukumar Periwal, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 44-64, 49.

13. See Arend Lijphart, *The Politics of Accommodation* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1968) and George Tsebelis, *Nested Games* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, U. Of California Press, 1990).

14. 7. K. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Its Alternatives*. (New York, 1969) p. 19.

15. In Stanley Ryerson's critique of Professor Lower's comment in *Canada One Hundred, 1967-1967*, "The other major predisposing factor was the extension of communication", 17, he adds in "read: capitalist industrialization", *Unequal Union*, p. 426.

16. A proof is provided by Garth Stevenson in his essay, 'Federalism and the political economy of the Canadian state', pp. 71-100, Part II : Capitalism and federalism in *The Canadian State : political economy and political power*, edited by Leo Panitch, University of Toronto Press, p. 94, in which the Chairman of the CPR, the first cross-Canada railway, argues for Balkanization of the Canadian economy so as to flow south-north!

17. Lord Action: 'nationality [...] does not aim either at liberty or prosperity, both of which it sacrifices to the imperative necessity of making the nation the mould and measure of the State ...'

18. [...] I do not think that Palestine could ever become a Jewish State, nor that the Christian and Islamic worlds would be ready to accept that their saintly sites would be under Jewish control. It would have found it to be more judicious to establish a Jewish country on a Land that is less loaded with history. But I recognize that a point of view that is so rational

would have little chance of obtaining the enthusiasm of the people and the financial backing of the rich.

19. I concede with sadness that the fanaticism that has flooded our people should in part be to blame for having aroused Arab mistrust. I am not able to cultivate sympathy for a devotion badly led which transforms a section of a wall of Herod's into a national relic offending the expressed sentiments of the indigenous inhabitants.
20. Together with the deduction of the Principle of Reciprocity, this is a second elaboration of a theorem derived from a mathematical logic.
21. 18. Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National-Colonial Question*, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 15-99, 96.
22. See paper prepared for use at the International Studies Association Conference in Chicago, February 22-25, 1995 by Fred W. Riggs, Professor Emeritus, Political Science Department, University of Hawaii, entitled: 'TURMOIL AMONG NATIONS, A CONCEPTUAL ESSAY : Ethnonationalism, Authoritarianism, Anarchy, and Democracy', p. 10.
23. See Annex D, on 'TOPOLOGY OF POLITICAL CULTURE : TERMS, NAMES AND CONCEPTS'.
24. Ethnocide and/or integration as a nationality into a confederation of nations are further tendencies operating amongst various peoples in opposition to one another.
25. See Annexe B for transcript of this 1390 document.
26. Such language may be taken as leading to conceptualism ;

The doctrine, intermediate between the extremes of nominalism and realism, that universals, or abstract characteristics, have no independent

reality, and exist only as ideas in the mind or as traits embodied in particular things. [*Fund & Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary (Canadian Edition)*, Toronto, Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd, 1974, p. 279.]

This is necessarily the intended result if that is taken to mean a form of Idealism in which one expects the idealizations of the mind to give rise to their intended conclusion, in spite of reality. The methodology herein is rather based in the discovery of existent tendencies that operate often in the collective sub-conscious.

27. A common expression refers to the methodological openness that is named in Yiddish, *Logik un Seichyl* (לא'דושיק ענד שכל) [Logic and Intuition/Reason/Wisdom], also the name of a journal published during 1985 from Ottawa.

28. Despite (and due to) the proliferation of independent countries represented in the General Assembly after the Second World War, the United Nations Security Council has been invested with control over binding resolutions.

29. See Conclusions.

30. Miloud Chennoufi notes that,

Pour Ernest Renan, la science comme fruit moderne de l'héritage greco-romain se définit négativement en opposition à tout ce que l'Orient a pu représenter...

in his *Grandes puissances et islamisme*, p. 34. This is not to say that science itself is put into doubt but rather the classical scientific method. Twentieth century science has surpassed the methodology of classical scientific theories in terms of gravitational theory, atomic and nuclear structure, quantum mechanics, and cosmology.

VOLUME ONE

NATION AND CIVIL SOCIETY

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY AND THE STATE

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1.0 Introduction

The methodology implemented employs concepts together with historic elements. The combination of the history of Peoples together with the history of their concepts gives rise to another sense of Nation, in terms of orientation. Arising out of this discussion, the nature of existence in an international rather than an ethnocentric context is clarified, while maintaining national identity. Considering the nature of a subject arising from different contexts, a variety of sources are sought to clarify a concept that has an immense history.

One may also consider forms of consciousness that do not identify themselves as a Nation, but which may wish to do so in some further circumstance, or, may wish to exercise their auto-determination in some other form. The community of consciousness is fundamental to the concepts of nation, gender and class. Such a community could also be a religious movement such as Christianity, or Islam and thought of as a community of belief or faith, rather than as a nation (though there are tendencies which do, such as the Holy Roman Empire, and other expressions of religious fundamentalism). The variety of communities/social formations could include a community of language, a gender culture, territorial proximity, geographical similarities, historical association, intellectual interests, generational periods and/or genetic similitudes. Such formations may or may not give rise to a national consciousness, apart from their collective identity.

However in a belief system, the ideological criteria is such that if one thinks or acts contrary to the rule, then one is not a party to that community.

If one acts contrary to the rule or tradition in a People or a Nation, one remains a member of that Nation or People. Thus the former belief system resembles an Ideology, and the latter political culture resembles a group such as the Jewish People, as differentiated from the belief system of the religion associated with that People. This is the difference then between the Jewish People and Judaism, and the difference between the Christian community and the Jewish Nation. The Jewish people form a nationality and the Christian milieu comprises a common belief - a religious community. The Islamic community is therefore more akin to Christianity, and the Pan-Arabist nations are similar in their social orientation to the Jewish People. From such a perspective it becomes evident that there are traits, beyond beliefs, with which identification of nationality is practised, corresponding to cultural, linguistic, historic or perhaps territorial affinities having given rise to a collective identity. A belief, such as in a religious doctrine, a political ideology or any other symbolic attachment does not constitute national self-identification since such movements have not become historically refined to provide the basis for a comprehensive culture of life, resilient to the passage of events/time, and coherent enough to become the basis of a continuing culture. Social coherence requires further elaboration as a mode of thought; that is, social cohesion would be, not only internally consistent, but also self-generating in its methodology so as to be self-correcting, and as such capable of surviving the epochs during which Peoplehood is formed into a Nation. Consequently, a multinational religion such as Christianity or Islam is not expected to form a People, even though it may emanate from a given community, precisely because it is based upon assimilation to an authority seeking adherents in an ideological system (or in power politics) - instead of nation-building. Hegemony and homogeneity are not fundamental elements of a People-Nation, contrary to the formal definitions, neither are they historically resilient features. Those traits are the stuff of State formation and empire building.

Insofar as the concept of a People differs from that of a Nation, the right of auto-determination is not affected. The difference between the two is that 'Nation' implies civil society, the organizational infrastructure generated over a period of historical experience in various facets: cultural, economic, etcetera. A 'People' exists by reason of a collective consciousness₁ in and of itself as a Nation, although it may lack the infrastructure associated with a stable existence due to war, impoverishment or oppression. A slave caste may thus be considered a People rather than a Nation, with political rights of auto-determination. Other terms associated with a People, such as ethnicity, minority, peoplehood, community, tribe, culture, people-class, caste₂, or Order may be defined without major difficulty in a similar manner. As an historic People, various national components are included thus comprising the People as a whole.₃

The difficulty in the discussion and debate about the Jewish People has been sustained by the absence of an adequate definition of what the Jewish People is in political terms. There are various misconceptions ascribed to the Jewish People, including the derogatory definition to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary for the word 'Jew'¹, which is in itself a racist insult, while other conceptions follow either a religious or a theocratic or social racist definition. The use of the term 'Jew' is a form of alienation because it isolates one person at a time, while the term 'Jewish' respects the collective identity of a People-culture. The isolation fostered as an objectified "Jew" provides no defence to alienation while a collective identity denotes collective rights otherwise denied. Likewise, the denial of Québécois (Kébécois) collective identity in the Canadian context by the use of the term "French-Canadian"

¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume V H-K., Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1933, pp. 576-577.

denotes the refusal to recognize the national-identity of a People and reduces collective rights to a provincial identity without a collective identity and its corresponding right to social needs. Provincial identity provides for individual civil rights but not social rights; it is assimilationist and colonial in both cases. In this respect the theory of imperialism is found to be lacking since it recognizes dependency at the exterior of the nation-state but not within it. A prime example is the African-American case which is recognized solely as a 'race' (i.e. 'Blacks') but not a national entity and so a social collective (see Kly). This is why the Palestinian citizens of the State of Israel are named 'Israeli Arabs'. Another example was the colonialization of Algeria by France which offered citizenship by means of assimilation (see Hisham Sharabi, *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World*) as in the model provided by Napoleon's policy towards the Jewish nationality.

According to the exclusivist hierarchical notion, it is often propagated that various groupings of a certain number of different nations (usually with a common theocracy) are considered what it referred to as, a 'race'. This differentiation is made with respect to others of the human species forming a category which is considered a 'race' apart from those who are considered human.² This presumption consequently leaves any particular nationality within a given society to be considered as a 'race', based upon a selection of very limited genetic material, in place of their proper national auto-definition. It is notable that although the vast majority of African-Americans are of mixed genetic heritage, nonetheless there is an identity made with only the African source and not the European genetic code.

² 'Dossiers & Documents : Les nouveaux territoires du racisme', *Le Monde*, No. 339 - février 2005, pp. 1-8.

The concept of 'race', as found oftentimes in the religious ideologies, is as a common exclusionist rationale that serves to divide humanity. Thus the term 'Caucasian white race' corresponds to the dominant nationalities of the Occidental Christian states. One may know that this 'race' extrapolation of the concept of an exclusive nation becomes contradictory in itself since, being based upon religion as a belief system, the nation becomes defined as an 'it', a non-animate object; that is, the nation becomes reified as a thing unto itself. Which is to say, religion as a theocratic ideology rationalizes the nation into a sacred race of a set of particular humans. By abandoning national identification, the State's religious ideology proposes to elevate the status of the People to a divine sanctioned type of human, usually termed 'race' or perhaps ascribed the title of a 'chosen people'⁵.

However, the myth of race cannot be coherent since any one person in that given belief system may choose to become a nonbeliever, while a national cannot abandon their national-cultural origin; therefore national identity remains inherent and actual while the notion of 'race' does not. For this reason, the ideological system of the State is defeated by its extension into the condition of being based in racial rationalizations, which are separate from the existence and the identity of the Nation. That ideological system is the racist conception and the promotion of the myth-belief that national-culture is preserved in a certain number of select genes! This notion is still prevalent in spite of the obvious characteristic that the variation in the genetic pool amongst the people of any particular nation can be greater (if only in terms of body height, or gender), than the variation with members of any other nation. That is, the term 'race' is mistakenly applied in the sense of an animal species, as in the nineteenth century usage of 'race' as being synonymous with nations. The manipulation of the Nation concept by the racist myth presents the misconception that some nations are more evolved biologically and as such

other nations are qualitatively less human and more animal-like; as if humans are not a common species of animal altogether. Delos as well abandons the notion of 'race', in spite of his theocratic system of thought.³

Since the entire racialist myth rests upon a belief only, members of the given nation who do not abide by such a belief are a particular threat to the belief system as a whole. As a result the myth-system engenders repression, and so lays the basis for the fascist state. The mechanism used to enforce the identity made between the racialist belief system and the nation is the fascist witch hunt of heretics, by which all are subject to the Procrustean bed of genetic measure.

The supposition that 'race' (for one example, 'White' supremacy) exists in place of national identity, alongside the myth of 'race' as a derivation of an exclusive national consciousness, results in the hierarchical national ideology being in contradiction with itself, generating the racist ideal to justify its exclusive self-conception.

Considering the world view of the Occidental States, which coincides with the proposition of the 'White Caucasian Race', the justification for this ideological reduction by occidental Christianity rests upon a base which is unrelated to a nation, even though this ideology claims to be a form of national identity₆ ('White nationalism').

The hypocrisy inherent to Christian Zionism is its pretense to support the existence of the Jewish people through the restoration of the ancient State

³ J. L. Delos, *La Nation : le problème de civilisation, Vol. I Sociologie de la Nation*, Montréal, Éditions de L'Arbre, 1944, p. 48.

of Israel while this very ideology refuses to recognize the existence of the Jewish Nation within its self-defined Christian Nation-States. This ideology has repeatedly carried out an Inquisition based upon a charge of betrayal against the Christian 'Lord', as the embodiment of the Christian State. This is obviously a proposition of a false consciousness that seeks such a justification so as to exclude those Jewish people from their countries of residence.⁷ Ironically, the Jewish Zionist movement makes the same demand; 'a nation like other nations'.

Similarly the ideological construction of religion as a pan-Islamic theocracy, has been substituted for the national interests of the Arab peoples, who are seeking their own independence. One consequence is that the Arab Jewish people have been more easily alienated from their dual-nationality, many having been coopted during the colonial administration of Morocco in subservience to the State of France and subsequently by the Zionist movement. This led to a twofold diminution of the Pan-Arabist movement. There is a certain irony in that the Jewish Arab population was faced with a Statist contradiction as a minority nationality which was torn between the local dependent State and its imperial master State. The implications for Pan-Arabism are not considered despite the strategic interest of identifying with the Israeli Jewish Arab communities, in the current context as a subordinate strata/ Order of the Zionist State.

The State's assimilation of national minorities can also be observed previously in the context of the British Empire (Durham Report). Similar means of homogenization in modern times have served to perpetuate socio-economic discrimination derived from this hierarchical perspective. Currently such nationalities as such have become the rural or urban toiling classes. One example results from the origin of African nations, a People such as the African

Americans/New Africans, who were formed into the lower classes in this manner.

In respect to Canada, one can see an example in the State's monarchist Coat of Arms (Armoirie du Canada) with the symbol for Québec and the Québécois-e under the Fleur de Lyse banner, as a Unicorn, adorned with the Crown around its neck (as in a work-horse collar) and a chain leading down from the Crown around the back of the body. All this is printed in miniature on the Canadian currency notes, and carved into stone on various State buildings, such as the Peace Tower entranceway to the Centre Block of the Parliament building in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.⁸

In respect to,

The Durham Report, which resulted from this investigation, analysed the situation in Canada as derivative from the fact of 'two nations warring in the bosom of a single state'. Durham claimed that the solution to this war was simple; the assimilation of the French was a prerequisite to Canada's survival and to the economic survival of the group. He wrote to the King;

If they attempt to better their condition by extending themselves over the neighboring country, they will get more and more mingled with the English population. If they prefer remaining stationary, the greater part of them must be labourers in the employ of the English capitalists. In either case, it would appear that in some measure, the vast majority of French Canadians are doomed to occupy an inferior position and to be dependent upon the English for

employment',⁴

This discussion brings into focus the concept of Nation. National consciousness is not dependent upon any notion, factor or set of factors, because it exists in and of itself. The Jewish Nation in particular carries such a consciousness, even while not based upon a religious belief system in itself, as the Jewish religion goes through a regular metamorphosis and does not provide a common criterion for a national identity. There are a variety of beliefs as well among the differing communities of the Jewish People ranging from; Orthodox, Chassidic-Satmar, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, amongst the Ashkenazim (Germanic/European), together with variations amongst the Sephardim, Mizrachi, pre-Talmudic Samaritans, Falash Mura/Falasha, and Yemeni. Among the current Russian Jewish community and Falash Mura there are also many holding Christian beliefs. Within the Jewish religious tradition there is no single authority to refer to for interpretations of law, despite the State of Israel itself instituting two Chief Rabbis. Judaism provides a degree of autonomy for each Rabbi, and social questions are put to a panel of such members of that caste of cultural intellectuals. During the modern era as well there was the example of Shabbetai Tzvi/Shabtai Zvi the 'false messiah', who converted to Islam with his adepts. A diversity of cultural traits though are compatible with national-identity. In effect then, religion alone is not the criterion for the definition of the Jewish People. It was entirely possible for the Spanish Inquisition to suspect that the Jewish converts remained Jewish and a so a threat to its hegemony, although they had submitted to becoming Catholic.

⁴ K. O'Sullivan See, 'The Social Origins of Ethnic-National Identities in Ireland and Canada', pp. 107-129, *National and Ethnic Movements*, Jacques Dofny and Akinsola Akiwowo (eds.), SAGE Studies in International Sociology 19, Beverly Hills & London, International Sociological Associates, 1980, p. 121.

All in all, national identity is maintained in spite of the substitution of religion, racialism, chauvinism , nationalism and Statism. National consciousness perpetuates itself, based upon its own dynamic, apart from exclusivity, although it is often used as a 'handle' by which to propagate various ideologies. On its own, as a social phenomenon, national identity menaces existing administrative structures and their ideologies, in permanent revolution. On the other hand the hierarchical conception of identity contributes to an absolute method which poses matters of general interest in a particularized and exclusive manner. By the propagation of a scale of priorities according to a particular national category, the criterion for its rationalization is particularly limited to its pre-determined ends.

The superiority proposed by the ideology of a sole perspective imposes a limited avenue in the external domain, corrupting the right to a national identity into an absolute imperative. In terms of the ends of the interior domain, this ideology seeks also to impose a homogeneous society as an anti-pluralist law in a monolithic State.

The pioneering theoretician of nationalism, Hans Kohn, here remarks that,

Nationality is therefore nothing absolute, and it is a great mistake, responsible for most of the extremities of today, to make it an absolute, an objective 'a priori', the source of all political and cultural life.⁵

To consolidate the preceding development, it should be said that a hierarchic organizational and ideological model is the habitual default condition

⁵ Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism : A Study in its Origins and Background*, Toronto, Collier Books, (1944) 1969, p. 13.

in the construction of social existence. The consequences are to be found in the structure established, which is based in discrimination and exclusivity. National discrimination itself coincides with class exploitation and/or an internal class stratification into socio-economic Orders. Nation-State exclusivity consequently leads to either slavery, segregation or genocide, unless it is deterred by the arising social movements.

The nation-state, however, based, upon a homogeneous population's active consent to its government (« le plébiscite de tous les jours »¹⁰), lacked such a unifying principle and would, in the case of conquest, have to assimilate rather than to integrate, to enforce consent rather than justice, that is, to degenerate into tyranny.⁶

Likewise, in the international context, the schema of historic periodisation into stages of the mode of production, forms the ethnocentric cement of the Occidental sense of civilization.

la modernité s'ouvre sur l'ère des nations, des nationalités et des États-Nations avec des frontières 'naturelles' que seul le capitalisme scra admis à outrepasser. Le positivisme du XIXe, le développement de la biologie et de la philologie serviront de caution scientifique à des tentatives de définition scientifique de la 'Nation', des ses frontières géographiques et ethniques ainsi qu'un réexamen des religions, de façon à aboutir à une hiérarchisation des peuples.⁷

We begin with the introduction of the Nation and nationality as it appeared during the antiquity. During the period before and after the French Revolution there were several major classical theoreticians who treated the

⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Cleveland and New York, Meridian Books, The World Publishing Company, p. 125.

⁷ Miloud Chennoufi, *Grandes puissances et islamisme*, Editions El-Ikhtilef, p. 34.

subject of Nation and Society out of necessity. A third discussion following not long afterwards - the grand debates of the socio-economic theorists which comprised the fundamental political differences of the first through the fourth Socialist Internationals. During this latter period, the discussions of national self-determination and 'the national question' were energetically pursued in the context of the disintegrating European world-empires and the enduring Russian Czarist empire.

The current or fourth discussion on national independence is derived from the period after the second European World War, when a number of previous colonies and dependencies advanced into their political independence - including those nations who were contained by the State-Communist enterprises. The interpretation and analysis of the concepts of Nation and People continued to draw attention in that post-colonial period of the Twentieth Century, in particular by those writers concerned with the establishment of new societies initiated by nations which had not previously maintained their independence. This discussion is pursued and engaged in order to focus on the conflict between the Palestinian Nation and the Zionist State. An example is provided in the development of the Québécois (Kébékoize) nation and society towards independence, in the concluding 'fifth Chapter'.

While the classical theoretical works on the matter before us may very well be considered as having been bypassed in terms of political programme, nevertheless these writings remain common terminology in terms of their theoretical precision on the abstract categories that are fundamental to the politics of national liberation. The various periods of discussion on the nation and nationalism advanced is only a partial fulfilment of the objective necessities of the time, and so failed to resolve the contradictions of the social structures

that followed. In the re-examination of the fundamental criteria which pertain to the nation and society, the nature and functions of society are opened to analysis. This Chapter's development proceeds to treat Society as it follows from this discussion of Nation.

The evolution of the feudal regime into the State follows from the transformation of the religious empire into the State as nation; "For the principle of 'cuius regio', 'eius religio', they have substituted the doctrine of 'cuius regio', 'eius natio'." ⁸ The concept 'natio' being associated with the attributes of the verb 'nasci', 'to be born' denoting a biological affinity as in the false concept of 'race', as well as the association with a particular lieu or territory.

The principal classical work on the matter of social organization was the work by Hegel published in 1821 under the dual title; *Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse und Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (translated as *Natural Law and Political Science in Outline and Elements of the Philosophy of Right*), a work that forms the basis of much of the current operation of various State apparati or superstructures. Over this past century such basic conceptions were usually treated within the parameters of the American political culture's conceptualization of Political Science, and consequently the term 'Staatswissenschaft' in German is rendered as 'Political Science' when it could be translated more literally as, State Philosophy or, Knowledge of the State.

More precisely, the word State arises from ,

⁸ Simon Dubnow, *Nationalism and History : Essays on Old and New Judaism*, Cleveland & New York, Meridian Books, The World Publishing Co., Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961, p. 141.

the Latin 'Status' which was used to describe a certain social or economic condition. It then became [used] to denote a class of people and suggested in its usage the description of a legal structure for a certain group which we now call the constitutional components.⁹

This affinity between Political Science and the State is the dominant feature of political life much of the time, but has in effect left aside the dynamics of social change and their consequences for the State system. The translation from the title above as 'Political Science' signifies that the predominant role of the State is assumed and, in the interests of its image of Universality, is promoted by the use of the term Science - it being preferable not to mention the role of the State. The origin of the State itself is obscured by the dependence upon those European writings which treat the State as a relatively recent development representing the highly developed condition of the European States.

However, rather than considering the 'Polis' and 'Civitas' providing the embryonic structures of the modern Nation-State,

La notion d'État « territoire » groupant plusieurs cités, ou celle d'empire leur est sans conteste venue du monde méridional et, en particulier, de l'exemple égyptien.¹⁰

To enlarge the examination of Political Science/State Politics as it pertains to the nature of Society, it is necessary to overcome the lack of precision that plagues the pursuit of political objectives. Too often the idea of freedom, is substituted for the reality of its accomplishment. The formulation

⁹ Suleiman Al-Ghweil, *The National State : A Comparative Analytical Study*, Tripoli, The World Center For The Studies And Researches Of The Green Book, 1990, p. 29.

¹⁰ Cheikh Anta Diop, *L'Afrique Noire Précoloniale*, Paris, Dakar, Présence Africaine, p. 28.

of the idea becomes reified in itself, not allowing for its 'deroulement', or unfolding. Hegel comments that,

What lies between reason as self-conscious mind and reason as an actual world before our eyes, what separates the former from the latter and prevents it from finding satisfaction in the latter, is the fetter of some abstraction or other which has not been liberated [and so transformed - K] into the concept.¹¹

This is an objective of this work, to remove the abstraction of the State before the nature of Society, bringing Civil Society forward into its realization, without the clothing of the State.

The abstraction of the State blocks the Nation from its realization. The independence of the nations is at the core of the myriad of problems discussed in isolation from one another, including the phenomena of social freedoms, human rights, class exploitation, inter-State conflicts, civil wars, and so on. Those writers who adhered to their Nation-State conception in deference to the limitations of Hegel, including the Marxists, are as a result, chained to the block of the State; its institutions, its class/caste character, economic order as well as its ideology. Social dissidents such as utopian socialists and anarchists are found lacking in respect to what these political tendencies conceive of as Society, even while having surpassed the State. The project of the Society is sadly lacking. The abstract critique of the State ends in a void. We are left with an actuality which presents itself to us and is composed of the actual Form of social existence - the matter which here concerns us.

The Form of our social consciousness, being composed of our acquired

¹¹ Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (translated by T.M. Knox), Oxford, Oxford University Press, (1942) 1949, p. 12.

cultural being, is understood in part as the accumulation of historical experiences that we can recognize as the reason for being (both as existence and motivation), including the memory of being, and the power of language to communicate these attributes amongst the social milieu within which we wish to be able to practice our cultural life. The Content of our existence is embodied in the organizational structures put into place which express and make functional our Form, these being; our legal rights, representative institutions and other expressions of our social collective. In this aspect we are concerned with the Form of our consciousness, our will, which conceives of itself as being associated with a national culture in its social context, providing us with an identity and the basis for the transmission of social intelligence - the accumulation of knowledge in preceding and subsequent generations. This function is a necessary element in survival and so is treated as a precious and necessary feature of social cohesion. The Content that has arisen to give expression to that Form is the substance of the study of political science it seems, but without the Form in mind it remains stagnant and in a self-perpetuating crisis. The Content with which we are currently presented is 'the State' as the embodiment of the Nation, although it is the 'Nation' that is the Form. Simon Dubnow instinctively presents the issue;

It should be recognized that the state is an external social organization designed only to protect the needs of its members. The nationality is an inner and natural form of the social collectivity. * The state, in keeping with its entire character, can be changed at all times; the nationality is fixed and unchangeable.

* Herder already differentiated between artificial political bodies and natural, national organisms.¹²

By substituting one identity for another, 'Content' for 'Form' and State

¹² Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

for Nation, the idea of the Nation-State comes into being. To examine the State it is necessary to examine its Form, the Nation, apart from its actual statist content.

The truth is that in philosophical knowledge the necessity of a concept is the principal thing; and the process of its production as a result is its proof and deduction. [...] But the common idea is so far from being the standard or criterion of the concept (which is necessary and true on its own account) that it must rather derive its truth from the latter, and adjust itself to it and recognize its own nature by its aid.¹³

The national will which has the potential to fabricate its Content is treated in this work as a necessary condition while the Content in place that is nominally providing for the functioning of the national concept, is put into question as the 'common idea'.¹² The question then being; is the State a necessary feature of Society, as is the Nation?

It is appropriate to distinguish between the various formulations applied to the distinct features of Society, as Rousseau seeks to do, in order to consider the matter posed above. Hegel, as originator of the modern State, owes much to Rousseau conceptually but chose to disregard the distinctions made in their initial formulation.

If then we discard from the social compact what is not of its essence, we shall find that it reduces itself to the following terms;

'Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.'

¹³ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

At once, in place of the individual personality of each contracting party, this act of association creates a corporate ['corps moral et collectif' - R] and collective body, composed of as many members as the assembly contains voters, and receiving from this act its unity, its common identity, its life, and its will. The public person, so formed by the union of all other persons, formally took the name of city, and now takes that of Republic or body politic; it is called by its members State when passive, Sovereign when active, and Power when compared with others like itself. Those who are associated in it take collectively the name of people, and severally are called citizens, as sharing in the sovereign authority, and subjects, as being under the laws of the State. But these terms are often confused and taken one for another; it is enough to know how to distinguish them when they are being used with precision.¹⁴

It is so resolved to remain aware of the distinctions for such terms as body politic, Republic, people, citizens, subjects, State, and finally Sovereign and independent.

Hegel seems to have a commonality for the State with Rousseau although they differ in its application,

The philosophical treatment of these topics is concerned only with their inward side, with the thought of their concept. The merit of Rousseau's contribution to the search for this concept is that, by adducing the will as the principle of the state, he is adducing a principle which has thought both for its form and its content, a principle indeed which is thinking itself, not a principle, like gregarious instinct, for instance, or divine authority, which has thought as its form only. Unfortunately, however, as Fichte (4) did later, he takes the will only in a determinate form as the individual will, and he regards the universal will not as the absolutely rational element in the will, but only as a 'general' will which proceeds out of

¹⁴ J-J Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, London, Dent, 1973, p. 175.

this individual will as out of a conscious will. The result is that he reduces the union of individuals in the state to a contract and therefore to something based on their arbitrary wills, their opinion, and their capriciously given express consent; and abstract reasoning proceeds to draw the logical inferences which destroy the absolutely divine principle of the state, together with its majesty and absolute authority. For this reason, when these abstract conclusions came into power they afforded for the first time in human history the prodigious spectacle of the overthrow of the constitution of a great actual state and its complete reconstruction 'ab initio' on the basis of pure thought alone, after the destruction of all existing and given material. The will of its re-founders was to give it what they alleged was a purely rational basis, but it was only abstractions that were being used; the Idea was lacking; and the experiment ended in the maximum of frightfulness and terror.¹⁵

Hegel discounts the state-Republic described by Rousseau as if it were reduced to the format of a contract alone among various individual wills, which Hegel treats as the Form of the Nation which he names the State. Bakunin comments, "despotism manifests itself not in the FORM, but in the PRINCIPLE of the State [...]"¹⁶₁₃

Hegel's misrepresentation or mis-appreciation discounts the character of the 'general will' which is described by Rousseau as greater than the sum of its parts. Furthermore it is not at all clear that the 'general will' was to be taken as the conception introduced for the purpose of describing the State alone. It is easier to conceive of the 'general will' being ascribed to the Civil Society rather, which one is obliged to differentiate from the State.

¹⁵ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹⁶ Sam Dolgoff, *Third World Nationalism and the State*, Regina & Campaign, IL, Anarchist Communist Federation of North America, >1986, p. 20.

Hegel himself very precisely does demarcate the character of the Civil Society;

188. Civil Society contains three moments:
- (A) The mediation of need and one man's satisfaction through his work and the satisfaction of the needs of all others - the 'System of Needs'.
 - (B) The actuality of the universal principle of freedom therein contained - the protection of property through the 'Administration of Justice'.
 - (C) Provision against contingencies still lurking in systems (A) and (B), and care for particular interests as a common interest, by means of the 'Police' and the 'Corporation'.¹⁷

Hegel contains a conception of Civil Society that is very elaborate in terms of the economic and personal spheres of activity, while still ignoring the fullest conception of

Rousseau's 'general will'.¹⁸ Taking into account the confused interchanges he makes between State and Nation, Hegel goes beyond Rousseau in respect to Civil Society, presenting the epistemological basis for the nation as being a reciprocal consciousness of common needs, a conception lacking in Rousseau. While Rousseau likewise presents a reciprocal dynamic, it "is the self common to the whole, the reciprocal sensibility and internal correspondence of all the parts"¹⁹, this formula nevertheless remains an attribute of citizenship. In Rousseau it is the State that limits the inherent divisiveness of Civil Society being as it is, in his conception, based in the particular wills of its citizenry. Hegel's exegesis of Kant and Rousseau's Statism go beyond the conception of

¹⁷ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹⁸ Hegel, *op. cit.*, para. #288, p. 189.

¹⁹ Rousseau, *op. cit.*, *A Discourse on Political Economy*, p. 120.

Civil Society to incorporate the nation integrally.

The crucial point in both the Kantian and the generally accepted definition of right (see the introduction to Kant's *Philosophy of Law*) (66) is the 'restriction' which makes it possible for my freedom or self-will to co-exist with the self-will of each and all according to a universal law'. On the one hand, this definition contains only a negative category, restriction, while on the other hand the positive factor - the universal law or the so-called 'law of reason', the correspondence of the self-will of one individual with that of another - is tantamount to the principle of contradiction and the familiar notion of abstract identity. The definition of right which I have quoted involves; that way of looking at the matter, especially popular since Rousseau, (67) according to which what is fundamental, substantive, and primary is supposed to be the will of a single person in his own private self-will, not the absolute or rational will, and mind as a particular individual, not mind as it is in its truth. Once this principle is adopted, of course the rational can come on the scene only as a restriction on the type of freedom which this principle involves, and so also not as something immanently rational but only as an external abstract universal. This view is devoid of any speculative thinking and is repudiated by the philosophic concept. And the phenomena which it has produced both in men's heads and in the world (68) are of a frightfulness parallel only to the superficiality of the thoughts on which they are based.

67. See e.g. *Contract Social*, i. 6, where the 'fundamental problem' is said to be 'to find a form of association which will defend and protect the person and property of each associate, and wherein each member, united to all the others, still obeys himself alone, and retains his original freedom'. i.e. what is fundamental is the single individual and his natural liberty; the task of the state is merely to protect these.²⁰

²⁰ Hegel, *op. cit.*, para. #33, p. 305.

The individual is fundamental only 'in itself' and not 'for itself', since the human species is a social being and really only finds its fulfilment in the recognition it receives and the benefits derived in the collectivity by fulfilling common needs.

The individual human is only such 'in itself' and actually becomes human when 'for itself', by releasing that potential in the social context. The right to freedom of speech/expression, for example, is only feasible when someone hears, is capable of and willing to listen. Freedom then is a function of society and not the individual per se. Liberty is neither granted or guaranteed by the State, since it is an attribute of Civil Society.¹⁵

In presenting his own actuality, Hegel did distinguish between the Nation and the State, although in contradiction to his concluding conception. He nonetheless wrote,

#349 A nation does not begin by being a state. The transition from a family, a horde, a clan, a multitude, etc., to political conditions is the realization of the Idea in the form of that nation. Without this form, a nation, as an ethical substance - which is what it is implicitly, lacks the objectivity of possessing in its own eyes and in the eyes of others, a universal and universally valid embodiment in laws, i.e. in determinate thoughts, and as a result it fails to secure recognition from others. So long as it lacks objective law and an explicitly established rational constitution, its autonomy is formed only and is not sovereignty.²¹

The Nation is then the Form and the State is the Content given to it in order to realize and maintain sovereignty. This is interesting initially, since the

²¹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

'common idea' is that Hegel treats the State as Form. The difference that we are given by Hegel to distinguish between Nation and State then is Sovereignty, as embodied first in the Law and secondly in the Constitution.

As a Republic, it is the People who are held responsible for having made their own Constitution. In a constitutional Monarchy, it is the Monarch who is considered to have provided for, or given permission for the Constitution of the People, by a legitimation process or ritual, as in the religious precedents. In the former case of the Republic, the civil Constitution is integral to that which becomes Civil Society, while in the latter case, the Constitution and Civil Society are beholden to the State and of course the Head of State.

National entities seek independence by formulating a social constitution, to distinguish themselves from the Sovereignty of the Monarch and the State Constitutional Monarchy. In continuing to reference the constitutional process one would have to take note of whether it is a civil-social constitution or a state constitution that is being considered.

1.2 Nation, Civil Society and the State

1.2.1 Hellenism and the Roman Era

The concept of Nation as presented in the available documentation provides for a Patriarchal-founded heritage extending from a given family's origin traced from a Matriarchal lineage. In the ancient Greek language, 'patris' (fatherland) and the 'patrician' class of hereditary aristocracy derive from such origins as the 'patrilocal', the father's community, and consequently 'patria', the country, as family or clan. The male gender's conception of the

Nation considered women and children to be defined into the male's personal community. This is the traditional Greek Society. Aristotle in particular does not make distinctions between civil society, nation and state although they are mentioned as identifiable terms, but not usually as concepts.²² An exception occurs in his discussion of Greece which is considered a nation while being composed of various states.²³

It is the likely inspiration for "Sir Robert Filmer, the author of *Patriarcha*, one of the most uncompromising defenders of absolute princely power".²⁴ That principle was named 'Pater Patriæ' (father of the nation = King) in Latin,²⁵ or, 'patriarchēs' in Greek₁₆ ('patria' and 'archein', to rule).²⁶ In contrast, even the early writings of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *Création de l'ordre* of 1843 and *Contradictions économiques* of 1846, dissociated the family from Society. The Hellenist paradigm is the conception of Society as if it were a large extended family that leads to the model of the Nation as a State; « sur le modèle de la famille que toutes les sociétés antiques et féodales s'étaient organisées ». The critique he provides serves to disabuse us of the patriarchal and consequently statist conception of the Nation.

La famille est « le type et le berceau de la monarchie et du patriarcat »; en elle « réside et se conserve l'idée d'autorité et de souveraineté

²² Aristotle, *The Politics*, New York, Prometheus Books, 1986, pp. 4-5, 79.

²³ Aristotle, *Ibid.*, p. 213.

²⁴ Rudolph Rucker, *Nationalism and Culture*, Minnesota, M.C. Coughlin, 1978, p. 141.

²⁵ Robert Filmer, 'Patriarcha : or, the Natural Power of Kings', *Two Treatises on Civil Government* by John Locke, London, George Routledge & Sons, 1903, p. 19.

²⁶ Funk & Wagnalls, *Standard College Dictionary, Canadian Edition*, Toronto, Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1974, patriarch, patriarchal, defn., p. 988.

»; mais elle n'est pas « le type, la molécule organique de la société » ; « l'unité consitutive de la société est l'atelier » 2. Il ajoute que la « dictature paternelle » et les appels fraternitaires des « communistes » viennent de là ; ils ont plagié la famille, et l'ont transportée dans l'Etat. Mais, ce faisant, ils détruisaient la famille et la société.²⁷

The conception of the family as the foundation of the Nation is named 'ius sanguinis' (nationality by birth; parentage) in its Latin derivative. The concept 'ius soli' (nationality by place of birth) is often counterpoised to the former concept. Under the Nazi regime, and the idealist 'wandervoget' (wandering birds or free spirits) movement prior to 1914, these concepts were chained together and became translated into 'blut und boden' (blood/'race' and soil/Land)²⁸ as if one necessarily implied the other.¹⁷

Hans Kohn is particularly concerned by the identification of the Nation with the family and presents the view that;

Nationalism is not as some scholars under the influence of Aristotle suggest, (3) a harmonious natural growth qualitatively identical with the love for family and home. It is frequently assumed that man loves in widening circles - his family, his village, his tribe or clan, the nation, and finally humanity and the supreme good. But love of home and family is a concrete feeling accessible to everyone in daily experience, while nationalism, and in an even higher degree cosmopolitanism, is a highly complex and originally an abstract feeling. It gains the emotional warmth of concreteness only through the effects of an historical development which, by means of education, economic interdependence, and corresponding political and social institutions, brings about the integration of the masses and

²⁷ pierre haubtmann, *la philosophie sociale de p.-j. proudhon*, grenoble, presses universitaires de grenoble, 1980, pp. 25-26.

²⁸ Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, Chicago, Lawrence Hill Books, 1983, p. 19.

their identification with a body far too great for any concrete experience. Nationalism - our identification with the life and aspirations of uncounted millions whom we shall never know, with a territory which we shall never visit in its entirety - is qualitatively different from the love of family or of home surroundings. It is qualitatively akin to the love of humanity or of the whole earth. Both belong to what Nietzsche called (in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*) 'Fernstenliebe', love of those far away, and which he distinguished from the 'Nächstenliebe', love of those near by.²⁹

This distinction corresponds to the two tendencies in national consciousness we have had presented, exclusivity counterpoised to inter-nationals relations.

Traditional Hellenism carried its Patriarchalism into its relations with other cultures. While the slave caste was not exclusively composed of foreigners, the discriminatory notion of national origin did serve to justify the differentiation between slave and free citizen in the Hellenic society. Likewise religion served to establish the identity of the city-state. Ernest Renan remarks that;

La religion, les rites étaient des rites de famille. La religion d'Athènes, c'était le culture d'Athènes même, de ses fondateurs mythiques, de ses lois, de ses usages. Elle n'impliquait aucune théologie dogmatique. Cette religion était, dans toute la force du terme, une religion d'État. On n'était pas Athénien si on refusait de la pratiquer. [...] Les esclaves d'Athènes ne la pratiquaient pas.³⁰

This religious identity is counterpoised to the religious culture of the Nation

²⁹ Kohn, *op cit.*, pp. 8-9, 579-80.

³⁰ Ernest Renan, « Qu'est-ce Qu'Une Nation? », Conférence faite en Sorbonne, Association scientifique de France, le 11 mars 1882, *Bulletin hebdomadaire*, 26 mars 1882, p. 901.

considered previously. Judaism as a National code contrasts with this practice, while Christian religious ideology is derived from the Hellenic tradition.¹⁸

Pour Ernest Renan, la science comme fruit moderne de l'héritage greco-romain se définit négativement en opposition à tout ce que l'Orient a pu représenter, l'Islam bien sûr, mais aussi le Judaïsme et le Christianisme. C'est en ce sens que la modernité du XIXe siècle était antisémite [...]³¹

With this discriminatory belief, power was centralized by the State to perpetuate that caste structure. Various City-States expressed this discriminatory hierarchy in ancient Greece where the traditional culture believed, "Hellenes do not like to call themselves slaves, but confine this term to barbarians [foreigners]".³²

a free man coming from another neighbouring city had no right to own and cultivate a plot of land in Athens. The result of this was to confine 'foreigners' to other occupations, such as crafts or trade.

Here, as we see, production relations are not based on the division of labour but are, on the contrary, the basis of it; individuals occupying the same place in the division of labour do not occupy the same place in the production process. ...

Thus orders are not the same as classes, though they are, like classes, forms of domination and of exploitation of man by man. Marx, in *The German Ideology* (1845-46), draws a very clear distinction between order and class.³³

³¹ Chennoufi, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³² K.R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962, p. 2.

³³ Maurice Godelier, Processes of the formation, diversity and bases of the state, pp. 609-623. *International Social Science Journal - On the State* (UNESCO, Volume XXXII, No. 4, 1980, p. 618.

As Aristotle put it;

Could one have one's choice, the husbandmen should by all means be slaves, not of the same nation, or men of any spirit; for this they would be laborious in their business, and safe from attempting any novelties; next to these barbarian servants are to be preferred, similar in natural disposition to these we have already mentioned.³⁴

Edward Said's *Orientalism* extends this vein of discussion. The subordination of national minorities as Orders became a feature of the feudal system as well.

The traditional patriarchal exclusivist model of society was nonetheless subverted by philosophers' interventions. Rudolph Rocker points to an historical tendency of thought based in the intellectual trend of Humanism, the doctrine of the 'state of nature', the Sophist school, the Cynics, to the Stoics all of which opposed the State as a social authority. In addition, this citation from Rocker describes the formation of a national society based in this tendency,

The loftiest conception of natural law was formulated by the school of the Stoics, whose founder, Zeno of Kittion, rejected all external compulsion and taught men to obey only the voice of the 'inner law' which was revealed in nature itself. This led him to a complete rejection of the state and all political institutions, and he took his stand upon complete freedom and equality for everything that bears the human form. The time in which Zeno lived was very favorable to his cosmopolitan thought and feeling, which knew no distinction between Greeks and barbarians. The old Greek society was in full dissolution, the arising Hellenism, which especially furthered the plans for political unification of Alexander of

³⁴ Aristotle, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

Macedonia, had greatly changed the relationship of the nations and had opened completely new vistas.³⁵

The commentary by Richard Vernon in Proudhon's *The Federal Principle* elaborates the reference to the 'Amphictyonic league' as an example of nation-building;

'Amphictyonies' were leagues formed among the city-states of ancient Greece; initially religious in character, they also tended to acquire a political and military role. Here Proudhon evidently refers to the league centred on the city of Delphi, which from the seventh century B.C. on played an important though often destructive part in the inter-state politics of Greece. For a brief account of the failure of 'federalist' experiments in Greece, see Sheldon Wolin *Politics and Vision*, Boston, 1960, pp. 73-6.³⁶

Rocker continues to point out the natural tendency for nations to assert their identity in spite of the State, which nevertheless seeks to maintain its authority.

The patriarchal imperative is reflected in the nature of the State as exemplified in the Latin maxim of 'Princeps legibus solutus est' [The ruler is not bound by the law].¹⁹

To conclude this particular development during that period of Antiquity, one may say that the contradictory tendencies active in the national consciousness represent the hierarchical and pluralist expressions of the same identity. As has been noted in the introduction, the various phenomena of national identity do not take on a particular orientation in and of themselves,

³⁵ Rudolph Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, Minnesota, M.C. Coughlin, 1978, p. 129.

³⁶ Proudhon, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

but rather orient themselves according to the internal socio-economic structures that serve to compose the national culture.

1.2.2 Modernist Precursors

With the popularization of Christianity the illiterate Roman Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity in 312 ACE to consolidate his State-empire by theocratic decree. He developed his European conception building that empire ironically through the aid of an interpreter and in the presence of Pope Melchiades (from Africa), based upon the teachings of Saul of Tarsus. For the lack of nationalism, he adopted Christian theology to provide the ideological rationale. Christianity became the cohabitant of the State in the Edit of Milan in 313 ACE, and later became proclaimed the official state religion of the Roman Empire by Théodose I^{er} in 391 ACE.³⁷ This point of irony is found in the transformation of a liberation movement from the Roman occupation of Palestine into the State religion of that very empire. The influence that St. Aurelius Liusz Augustine of Hippo Africa (354 - 430 AD/ACE)³⁸ had upon Hegel, and later Luther and Calvin, is an indication that the historical tendency of Statism (Étatisme₂₀), we are looking at in this instance, is not necessarily so much European as it is late-Christian in nature and Pharaonic Egyptian in inspiration. St. Augustine promoted the combining of temporal/secular with spiritual power;

³⁷ Hentsch et Piotte, 'Les juifs entre chrétienté et modernité : ébauche d'un itinéraire', pp. 3-40, *Politiques et Sociétés*, no. 29, 15e année, printemps 1996, pp. 23-24.

³⁸ *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Vol. I, 1973, p. 159.

Christianity had begun as a revolutionary mass movement, and with its doctrine of the equality of men before the sight of God it had undermined the foundation of the Roman state. Hence, the cruel persecution of its followers. It was the opposition to the state which resulted from Christian doctrines that the state strove to suppress. Even after Constantine had elected Christianity to a state religion, its original aims persisted for a long time among the Chiliasts and manichaeans, though these were unable to exert a determining influence on the further development of Christianity. ...

When Augustine was getting ready to set forth his ideas in his *City of God*, Christianity had already undergone a complete inner transformation. From an anti-state movement it had become a state-affirming religion which had absorbed a number of alien elements. But the young church was still decked out in many colors; it lacked the systematic drive toward a great political unity which consciously and with full conviction steers toward the clearly defined goal of a new world dominion. Augustine gave it this goal.³⁹

Pope Innocent II wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople, "God did not only lay the dominion of the church in Peter's hands, he also appointed him to be the ruler of the whole world"⁴⁰, expressing the exclusivist and hegemonist tendency of antiquity to a universal degree. When "[Pope] Leo III placed the imperial crown on the head of the kneeling Charlemagne and proclaimed him 'Roman Emperor of the Frankish Nation' ", it was actually the State that was conceived of, as the national culture was only in the process of formation.⁴¹ This conception was to be codified in a reciprocal fashion by the Treaty of

³⁹ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁴¹ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Westphalia in 1648.⁴² These precepts continued to be the principles of the Christian State as found in Québec as late as 1944;

Disons seulement que si la civilisation est un ordre institutionnel et un ordre spirituel réalisé dans l'histoire, et corrélatif à une culture, il est clair que les nations sont désormais introduites aux fondements mêmes de la civilisation. [...] Non seulement les termes d'État national, d'économie nationale, d'église nationale, sont devenus significatifs, mais celle même de culture nationale a pris un sens profond auquel s'attache l'âme des peuples.⁴³

During the period of the Ottoman empire, the 'Uthmani Khilafah' was formed in the Oriental tradition and was obliged to respect the collective rights preset in Civil Society that gave rise to the national autonomy for which that empire is known. The Islamic belief system gave rise to the projection of an Islamic Community ('ouma' / 'Ummah'²¹). Pan-Arabism derived from the same conceptual Form although the 'ummah' remains distinct from the State content of the 'Khilafah'. Rashid Khalidi marks this distinction using the terms 'raison de la nation', as in the Arab national culture and 'raison d'état' corresponding to Arab nationalism rather than Pan-Arabism.⁴⁴ The 'Khilafah' itself may be considered less of an empire and more of a federated system, called 'millet/millah'²² in which provinces or 'Wilayats' with autonomous

⁴² Holy Roman Emperor & King of France et. al., 'Treaty of Westphalia', *Global Policy Forum*, On-line, <
<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/172/30574.html>>, Consulted October 6, 2014.

⁴³ Delos, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴⁴ Rashid Khalidi, 'The Origins of Arab Nationalism : Introduction', pp. vii-xix, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1991, p. vii.

districts 'Sanjaks'⁴⁵ and the protected communities with a 'Dhimmi' status.⁴⁶ This non-hierarchical tendency is reflected as well in the thought of the 14th century North African Islamic scholar Ibn Khaldun who presented a concept of 'assabiya'/'asabia' or 'group feeling' which did not require any specific discriminatory characteristics to formulate the concept of a nation, merely the willingness to make sacrifices for the group.⁴⁷ In the introduction to his selected *Prolegomena (Muqaddimat)* or *Universal History*, the translator Charles Issawi refers to the concept of 'asabia' as 'Social Solidarity' while F. Gabrieli translates it as 'spirito di corpo'.⁴⁸

E. Rosenthal comments;

Political thought there has always been in Islam, but it either started from the Sharia, and the problem was how to harmonize the existing State with the explicit regulations of the Sharia, or it started from Plato and tried to harmonize the actual State with the ideal State of perfect reason, losing itself in speculation. Moreover, in the minds of most Muslim thinkers both trends of thought interacted upon each other. Ibn Khaldun, however, for the first time started from a hitherto unknown quantity; the human society. His problem was; how did society as the aggregate of individuals, form itself into a

⁴⁵ Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, 'Territorially-based Nationalism and the Politics of Negation', pp. 193-206. *Blaming the Victims*, London, Verso, 1988, p. 195.

⁴⁶ Thierry Hentsch, *Imagining the Middle East*, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1992, p. 25.

⁴⁷ David Albert, Re: Toward and understanding of Palestinian culture, <dalbert@jeeves.la.utexas.edu>, *Peace Talks Among Arabs and Jews - Moderated*, <salaam-v-shalom@csf.colorado.edu>, 3 Jun 1995 00:50:55 -0500 (CDT).

⁴⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *An Arab Philosophy of history : Selections from the Prolegomena*, London, John Murray, (1950) 1969, p. 10.

political organization and how did it develop.⁴⁹

This conception of Ibn Khaldun's was unknown to Hegel (as well as Renan) who simply counterpoises the liberal State to "oriental despotisms".⁵⁰ In particular it should be noted here that the earliest Charter of Human Rights was proclaimed by the King Sirus of Persia.⁵¹

The Occidental pretension for the modern nation-state ignored the multi-cultural composition of the Oriental societies in,

l'accord secret Sykes-Picot. La situation était explosive et c'est dans ces conditions que les grandes puissances ont cherché à imposer la structuration d'entités politiques en États-Nations sur la dépouille de l'Empire ottoman, des États-Nations qui par la force des choses faisaient appel à des nations qui ne se définissaient pas en tant que telles, ou du moins pas dans l'acception européenne. Ces nations étaient en fait et pour ainsi dire trop entremêlées pour que les massacres soient évités.⁵¹

Unlike Hegel's perspective, various opposing tendencies have also been operative in Europe. In Poland for example King Kazimierz III Wielki (1310-1370) made a proclamation for Jewish rights in 1334. This led to the founding of the Jewish municipality of Kazimierz in 1335 ACE which merged with Krakow in 1791 to form a major Polish cosmopolitan centre, Cracow.⁵² The Jewish population of Poland, since 965 ACE, were supplemented by a wave

⁴⁹ Charles Issawi, 'Introduction', p. 1-25. *An Arab Philosophy of history : Selections from the Prolegomena* by Ibn Khaldun, London, John Murray, (1950) 1969, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁰ G.F.W. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, London, Oxford University Press, (1942) 1949, para. #270, p. 173.

⁵¹ Chennoufi, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵² *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, *op. cit.*, p. 713.

of immigration after the Prague pogrom of 1389, and a further wave of Spanish Moorish Jewish refugees, invited after the expulsion of 1492. The Sultan Bayazid II of the Ottoman Empire also welcomed the Moors.⁵³

The Christian Visigoth's expulsion of the Jewish population from Spain defined the Jewish people in a national sense, since the Jewish converts to Christianity, the Moranos (conversos), were the first to be identified and subjected to the expulsion irrespective of their religious affiliation.⁵⁴ Likewise in Nazi occupied Holland the Jewish converts to Evangelical Protestantism were not protected from deportation to the death and slave-labour camps.⁵⁵ In Poland the Swedish invasion of 1658 brought about the extension of Jewish rights into the public domain.²⁵

The Czarist practice for its empire was based in the Russification of acquired nations reinforced by the ideology of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the case of the Jewish nationality there was a policy of exclusion initially,

during Empress Elizabeth's reign (1741-1761). In her decree of December 1742 she ordered the expulsion from her territories of all the Jews residing there temporarily (as a matter of fact, at that time no Jew had the right of permanent residence). An attempt was made to mitigate the decrees - some officers of her court argued that Jewish merchants were beneficial to the economy of the country - but she

⁵³ *Naqshbandi Sufi Way*, On-line, < <http://naqshbandi.org/ottomans> >, Consulted 2005, and, *Turquie : culture : türk kütürü*, On-line, < <http://turquie-culture.fr/pages/histoire/correspondances-ct-documents/de-jerusalem-ville-de-lempire-ottoman-a-paris-1892.html> >, Consulted October 13 2014.

⁵⁴ Erna Paris *The End of Days : A Story of Tolerance, Tyranny, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Toronto, Lester Publishing, 1995.

⁵⁵ Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders : The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945*, New York, HarperCollins Publishers, 1992, p. 151.

would not hear of it. 'From the hands of the enemies of Christ,' she wrote, 'I desire no profits.' In her manifesto of 1762, Catherine II threw open the doors of Russia to all foreigners 'except the Jews' ('Krome Evre'ev')⁵⁶

When the Czarist exclusion of the Jewish people could no longer be enforced, upon the annexation of Polish territory following the partition of Poland in 1772, 1793, and 1795 and the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Jewish population became millions of people.

By December 23, 1791, the Pale of Settlement ('Cherta osedlosti') was created, although the term itself was coined many years later, during the reign of Nicholas I.⁵⁷

The coincidence of national and class oppression was codified in the case of the Jewish people under the Czarist rule whereby,

They were not regarded as ordinary citizens, but classed as a special social category called 'inorodsy' - subjects of alien birth.⁵⁸

and as such subject to hundreds of economic restrictions culminating in the 'numerus clausus' system, officially inaugurated in 1887 restricting the maximum number of Jewish students in the schools at between three and ten percent.

It should be noted here that during the three-hundred-year reign of

⁵⁶ Joseph Nedava, *Trotsky and the Jews*, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5732/1972, p. 19.

⁵⁷ Nedava, *Ibid.*, p. 19; A. Yarmolinsky, 'The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets', New York, 1928, p. 18.

⁵⁸ Nedava, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

the Romanov dynasty, discrimination against Jews was on religious rather than racial grounds. A Jew who converted to Greek Orthodoxy, or even Protestantism, could reach any high position in the government bureaucracy. Count Constantine Pobedonostsev, the head of the holy Synod in Russia and the spiritual mentor of the Romanov tsars Alexander III and Nicholas II, was quite specific about his Jewish policy; 'One third will die out, one third will leave the country, and one third will be completely dissolved in the surrounding population.'⁵⁹₂₆

In particular, the Jewish communities comprised an Order unto themselves, with its own class structure which was not integrated in the production process of the dominant nation. Elaborations of the distinction between Order and Class are carried on further in this work, where Ber Borochov is referred to in the 'fifth Chapter'.

Social alienation of a national community/minority is not based upon the particular function it plays in the class structure but rather is a function of the social structure that is reflected in the production process, sometimes referred to as 'group formations'. The position of a national minority such as the Jewish people is pertinent to other such minorities who are found in the same position, such as the 'Roma' people, throughout the feudal and modern periods, or the Arab minorities in the European and other Occidental countries of this time. Orders in social structure pertain to national hierarchies which continue to exist alongside the class divisions, in effect production relations versus the division of labour, two conditions differentiated by their relation to the State and the power it represents. Wealth and class alone do not denote power. This is where the Marxian class analysis (of the Jewish people in particular) stumbles, since although the national bourgeois order in the

⁵⁹ Nedava, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

feudal economy is transformed into a class 'in itself', other Orders in society are not examined as such.

National minorities as a social order in feudalism were not dissolved or assimilated in the transformation into the bourgeois state. While the bourgeois class sought to dissolve the Nobility to secure its freedom, it nonetheless maintained an exclusive prerogative to the State as its own national order and so excluded the minority nations. This tendency became replicated in the Catholic Church's « concile de Latran (1179), qui proclamait la « servitude perpétuelle » des Juifs en raison de leurs crimes. Le même concile leur interdisait l'accès aux fonctions publiques, aux professions libérales et à la propriété immobilière. »⁶⁰

Although the manifestation of the social status of the Jewish People (as well as ethnic minorities and the subordinate gender in general) is reflected and elaborated in the feudal system, the origins may be traced back to antiquity. If one searches for the social rationale for the maintenance of the social order as described it may be found in the designation of the minority as a sociological 'other'. As it was put by Thomas d'Aquin in his 'ad usum Judæorum', « "Surtout n'oublions jamais que le judaïsme est autant une nation qu'une religion" ». ⁶¹ The apparent contradiction to which this theologian addresses his concerns are based in the fact that a nation existing within the body of society has developed its own authority structure and so represents a threat to the stability of the predominant social order, as in the previous designation coming from the time of the Pharaohs of 'a nation in the midst of another nation'. Any other context may serve to illustrate the same.

⁶⁰ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶¹ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

Inspired by the same idea, the Nederland provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Guelderland, and Utrecht convened in 1581 in The Hague and formed an offensive and defensive league. They declared all relationships existing up to that time between them and Philip II of Spain null and void, as the king had broken the covenant, trodden the ancient rights of the inhabitants under foot, and behaved like a tyrant who ruled over the citizens as over slaves. [...] the famous Act of Abjuration [...].⁶²

The 'covenant' to which this refers is the reciprocal agreement that exists between ruled and ruler, thus allowing for reciprocal negation, according to Hubert Languet who wrote the political creed of the Huguenots 'Vindiciae contra Tyrannos'. An example of the reciprocal identity held by the Nation would be the old coronation formula of the Aragonese;

We, of whom every one of us is much as thou, and who all of us combined are more than thou, make thee a king. If thou wilt respect our laws and rights, we will obey thee; if not, then not.⁶³

Thus, the Reformation served to reconsider the Nation's identity so as to be autonomous of the Church, and so the Holy Roman Empire. However the conception of the Nation was governed by the religious concept held by the various Christian tendencies, which were linked to the divinity of 'Jesus Christ' as the 'son' of the deity. This religious concept is seemingly derived from the superstructure of the Egyptian Pharaonic State, based upon the divinity of the Pharaoh himself that he expressed by being the 'Son of God'; the idea of that supreme patriarchal authority producing the State as his conception of the Nation. Likewise the Central-American Inca empire was formed as a State and its Head was rationalized from the Inca belief in the "son

⁶² Rocker, *op. cit.*, 132.

⁶³ Rocker, *op. cit.*, 130.

of the Sun".⁶⁴

The attempt by the Roman Catholic Church to make a State out of the union of all of Christendom under the Pope as a 'Respublica Christiana' failed for the lack of an actual Nation upon which to bestow its mantle. A feature of this programme was the suppression of existing and indigenous nations which contradicted the proposition of Papal authority and its social conception. In this manner the Jewish Nation became subject to exclusion and discrimination in order to achieve a hegemonic social structure as previously described in the reference of Thomas d'Aquin (1224-1274). This is also put forward by Benoît Mailloux on behalf of the Dominican order in 1935 Montréal;

Dans un pays catholique les Juifs auront beaucoup de peine à être de bons nationaux, travaillant de concert à la prospérité de l'ordre social chrétien, parce que leur religion à caractère strictement national les portera toujours à s'isoler, à vivre à part, un peu comme des étrangers à côté des citoyens chrétiens.²⁷⁶⁵

Being reminiscent of the Spanish State of Isabelle the Catholic and Ferdinand d'Aragon (the Catholic Kings proclaimed by the Church in 1494), their project of building a monolithic State presumed that it was necessary to expel the other nations present in order to achieve the cohesion/hegemony of the Visigoth regime who had adopted Christianity as their exclusively national religion.

In contra-distinction to the universalism of the Catholic Church, Puritanism inspired John Milton to write *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* which

⁶⁴ Godelier, *op. cit.*, 613.

⁶⁵ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

was based in the Anglo-Saxon Nation and would thus produce its own religion, as its form of the Protestant trend. Since it was the practice of the Roman Catholic Church to subordinate the temporal to the spiritual, that is, the State to the Church, it became the national obligation to reverse the principle and so subordinate the Church to the State.

The sense of universal affinity to the state as citizen opened up the conception of the ownership of the resources of the land and the natural rights that legitimate such affinity.

These ideas were most openly advocated among the Levellers, the adherents of John Lilburnes, and found their boldest expression in the scheme of 'the people's covenant,' presented to the masses by this most radical wing of the revolutionary movement of that time. Almost all of the social-philosophical thinkers of that period, from Gerard Winstanley to P.C. Plockboy and John Bellers, from R. Hooker and A. Sidney to John Locke, were convinced defenders of the doctrine of the social contract.

While on the continent absolutism almost everywhere won unlimited dominion, in England it achieved under the Stuarts only a temporary success, and was soon unhorsed again by the second revolution of 1688. By the Declaration of Rights, in which all of the principles set forth in Magna Charta, were reaffirmed in extended form, the covenantal relationship between crown and people was reestablished. Owing to this course of historical development, especially in England, the idea of the social contract and the concept of natural rights never lost currency, and had, consequently, a deeper influence on the intellectual attitude of the people than in any other country.⁶⁶

The national conception imbedded in the English Revolution in effect nationalized the public lands which had been considered 'Crown Lands' and

⁶⁶ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

transformed such lands into 'Commons', as the public parks in England are still named today. Similarly in Canada such lands as the Ottawa Parliament Hill are proclaimed in its flag-base plaque to be "Public Grounds"²⁸ unlike state lands in Washington's District of Columbia. The sense of national revolution is obvious even in the title pages of the Levellers' movement of 1650-1688;

The True Levellers' Standard Advanced; or, The State of Community opened, and Presented to the Sons of Men [...] A Declaration from the Poor or oppressed People of England Directed To all that call themselves or are called Lords of Manors, through this Nation; That have begun to cut, or that through fear and covetousness, do intend to. Cut down the Woods and Trees that grow upon the Commons and Waste Land. [...] An Appeal To the House of Commons, Desiring their Answer: Whether the Common-people shall have the quiet enjoyment of the Commons and Waste Land; Or whether they shall be under the will of Lords of Manors still.⁶⁷

John Pyme, the leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons at that time, stated in affirmation of the Nation's right to the Land,

That false principle which inspires the princes and makes them believe that the countries over which they rule are their personal property - as if the kingdom existed for the sake of the king and not the king for the sake of the kingdom - is at the root of all the misery of their subjects, the cause of all the attacks on their rights and liberties.⁶⁸

Rocker points to;

⁶⁷ Gerrard Winstanley, *The Law of Freedom : and other writings*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 75, 97.

⁶⁸ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

the theologian, Richard Hooker, in his work, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, published in 1593, maintained [...] that 'in the nature of things it is by no means impossible that men could live in social relations without public government.' This work later served John Locke as a foundation for his two celebrated treatises on *Civil Government*, from which the germinating liberalism drew its main nourishment. [...] Locke [...] maintained that [...] The executive power, whose agents could at any time be recalled by the legislative assembly and replaced by others, was in all things subject to it and responsible to it. There remained only the federative power which, according to Locke, had the task of representing the nation abroad, of making treaties and deciding concerning war and peace.⁶⁹

This projection then provides for the separation of the State from the 'body politic' which is then identified as composed of Nations.

Rocker records that Thomas More, a defender of natural right, was: animated by Plato's *Politeia* and, more especially, by Amerigo Vespucci's description of newly discovered lands and peoples, More, in his *Utopia*, describes an ideal [...] This book became the starting point for a whole literature of social utopias, among which Bacon's *New Atlantis* and the *City of the Sun* of the Italian patriot, Campanella, were especially significant.⁷⁰

The empirical validation of 'Natural Law' by the opening of North American/Turtle Island society to European attention inspired anew the idea of the social contract or covenant in European events. The Iroquois *Book of the Great Law*, considered to be 'The Constitution of the Five Nations', established

⁶⁹ Rocker, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

⁷⁰ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

the *Ka-yah-ne-renh-ko-wa*, meaning 'Great Peace'.⁷¹

[...] the League of Great Peace by Dekanahwideh [...] the formation of the League of the Five Nations, which as far as can be ascertained took place about the year 1390.⁷²

This social constitution is another covenant established by reciprocal agreement in the process of Inter-Nationals relations.

In the grand discussion that has taken place over the centuries concerning monarchy and democracy, the subconscious identity of the society in the form of the nation has been present and waiting for its turn to announce itself. In his work *On Sovereignty* Jean Bodin (1530-1596) identifies and defines sovereignty in such a precise a manner as to make a separation between the rulers and the Society itself.

But let us suppose that a people chooses one or several citizens, to whom it gives absolute power to manage the state and to govern freely, without having to submit to vetoes or appeals of any sort, and that this measure is reenacted every year. Shall we not say that they have sovereignty? For is absolutely sovereign who recognizes nothing, after God, that is greater than himself. I say, however, that they do not have sovereignty, since they are nothing but trustees of a power that was confided to them for a definite period of time. Hence the people did not divest itself of sovereignty when it established one or more lieutenants with absolute power for

⁷¹ Arthur C. Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations or The Iroquois Book of the Great Law*, Albany, New York State Museum Bulletin, 1916, No. 184, The University of the State of New York, reprint Iroqrafts Ltd., Ontario, 1984.

⁷² Parker, *Ibid.*, p. 61.

a definite time [...] Sovereignty thus remained in the people...⁷³
 Sovereignty, then, is not limited either in power, or in function, or
 in length of time.⁷⁴

The matter of democracy is thus revealed as inherent to the Nation, rather than the character of State rule. In its root meaning even, 'demos' is known to refer to the People rather than the State.

[Pericles] 'Let me say that our system of government does not copy the institutions of our neighbours. It is more the case of our being a model to others, than of our imitating anyone else. Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people'.⁷⁵

There are great variations in social rule. In contrast to the absolutist ritual enacted on behalf of the Great King of Tartary, who was invested with sovereign power under God by the Tartar people, and the Princes in turn⁷⁶, the ancient Aragon ritual (prior to the hegemony of the Spanish State) addressed the king in this manner;

⁷³ Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty : Four chapters from The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 4.

⁷⁴ Bodin, *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, (1954) 1964, p. 117.

⁷⁶ Bodin, *Ibid.*, p. 8.

That is, 'We who count as much as you, and can do more than you, elect you king on such and such conditions between you and us, that there is one whose command is more powerful than yours.' ⁷⁷

denoting the conception that sovereignty rests with the social formation.

The self-perception of the People as the Society itself took on the shape of the great struggles for the freedom of the popular will, both as the Nation and as individual members of their Nation.

1.2.3 Civic Conception of Nation

Rousseau's 'moi commun' acts as the conceptual incorporation of the general will into the body politic. This hypothesis is habitually treated in the 'common idea' as the formation of the city-state and not a nation⁷⁸, although this may be disputed insofar as the 'general will' is regarded as being more than the sum of a collection of individuals.

The term 'general' will means, in Rousseau, not so much 'will held by several persons', as will having a general (universal) object. This is often misunderstood; but the mistake matters the less, because the General Will must, in fact, be both. ⁷⁹

Rousseau's conception of Will is definitively interested in making a differentiation between the two;

⁷⁷ Bodin, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁸ G.D.H. Cole. 'Introduction', pp. xi-xliv, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, London, Dent, 1975, p. xxix.

⁷⁹ Cole, *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

There is often a great deal of difference between the will of all and the general will; the latter considers only the common interest, while the former takes private interest into account, and is no more than a sum of particular wills.⁸⁰

The character given to the 'general will' is more precisely defined in his essay *A Discourse on Political Economy* where Rousseau writes,

The body politic, therefore, is also a corporate being, possessed of a will; and this general will, which tends always to the preservation and welfare of the whole and of every part, and is the source of the laws, constitutes for all the members of the State, in their relations, to one another and to it, the rule of what is just or unjust.⁸¹

In this citation we have the sense of something more than a corporate entity. It gives the sense of a living body with a consciousness that at one point he refers to as being the mind of the Deity as expressed by the 'general will'. This is of course reminiscent of the theological conception of the nation, as well as Hegel's 'National Mind'. The precise designation made in the citation above refers to two constituent elements in the 'body politic'. One is "their relations to one another", while the other is the relation "to it". The two notions are joined with an "and" so providing a prelude to the Hegelian concept of the Nation-State. It would be easy to note that the concept of civil society here corresponds to the notion of "their relations to one another", while the State would be best described by the reference "to it". The previous reference to "the whole" (as in body politic) confirms this distinction.

⁸⁰ Jean-Jaques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, London, Dent, 1975, p. xxxii.

⁸¹ Rousseau, *Ibid.*, *A Discourse on Political Economy*, pp. 117-153, 120-121.

The concept of the 'body politic' contains an allusion to the nation. This is a difficult matter to determine with precision since the format of *The Social Contract* is based on the model of the Athenian 'Polis', which lacked a defined national identity. At that time, when the European-based communities had not yet become sufficiently populated to constitute a national society, and had not yet had the historical experience to bond into a nation, the national concept did not serve as a useful idea to incorporate into the prevailing social structure. The degree to which Rousseau would do so rests more in the subconscious, although the complexity of existing social relations would seem to have provided him with the elaborated concept of 'general will' that he has expressed.

The civic conception with respect to the Nation is limited in its significance as a result. This public domain is mainly concerned with the nature of representation in the Nation, but not the Nation itself. To the extent that Rousseau distinguishes Nation from the State, the Nation is considered to be of greater significance although he uses the two terms as interchangeably.

In fact, does not the undertaking entered into by the whole body of the nation bind it to provide for the security of the least of its members with as much care as for that of all the rest? Is the welfare of a single citizen any less the common cause than that of the whole State? ⁸²

The State is here sacrificed rather than the Nation concept, so as not to violate his 'fundamental laws of society'. Nation and Society consequently are not considered to be the State.

⁸² Rousseau, *Ibid.*, p. 132.

For the fundamental conventions being broken, it is impossible to conceive of any right or interest that could retain the people in the social union; unless they were restrained by force, which alone causes the dissolution of the state of civil society.⁸³

Thus, Civil Society is closely identified with the Nation. The fundamental laws/conventions are the Social Contract, otherwise considered to be the social constitution. Furthermore, the People is taken as a synonym for nation when there is a distinction to be made from the State,

the 'body of the State', [...] we shall see that it will at length be reduced to a small number of persons, who are not the people, but the officers of the people⁸⁴

However, to the extent that the people or Nation, is treated solely as individuals, without a collective identity, apart from their particular 'general will', indicates that there has been a proposition of citizenship formulated which neglects the more subtle aspects of Rousseau's conception. Although, in his methodology, the civic conception of the nation is based in the individual and their liberties, it is not so evident that the proposed concept of citizenship is only that. First of all there is the consideration that the whole of the 'general will' is greater than the sum of its individual constituents, and, furthermore that the general will is composed of those constituents other than the individuals, notably those entities described as 'particular wills'. Even though the 'particular wills' found within the body politic, referred to by Rousseau, are not identified as nationalities, it is theoretically possible to do so (as well as private corporations). These particular wills are references to an amalgam of social and economic formations to be found in Civil Society, notably the

⁸³ Rousseau, *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁴ Rousseau, *Ibid.*, p. 132.

corporate identity but more so those other non-private collectivities which are either socially or economically based. This then would infer that nationalities or gender-based social formations for example would be included.

With respect to Rousseau then, the social contract or covenant has become reduced to a consensus based upon the individual citizen rather than the collective; while the general will, although derived from the collective, is treated as if it were giving a voice to the State, so personifying that abstraction.

The anarchist theoretician Rudolf Rocker comments;

the Jacobin idea of freedom was never anything else but a mechanical enrollment of the individual in the abstract concept of the nation, the unqualified subjection of all personal will to the mandate of the new state. Never before had there existed in France such a law-loving time as the epoch of the great revolution. The law became the holy icon of the nation, became a fetish which held the spirit prisoner, became a miraculous agency by which every wish concept was to be fulfilled. The 'spirit of the law' had actually overcome the nation. The men of the Convention felt themselves utterly intoxicated by their role as the lawgivers of the land, 'The lawgiver commands the future' - thus Saint-Just once orated in the Convention, in accordance with Rousseau's idea; 'his affair it is to will the good, his task it is so to transform men that they are fitted to that will'.⁸⁵

During the French Revolution the fate of the Nation and that of its State in formation, were often presented as being of the same image, even though the actual source of social power was evident. When Rudolf Rocker contrasts the law to the Nation, "The 'spirit of the law' had actually overcome the nation", this is an explicit differentiation between the State and the Nation that is

⁸⁵ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

defined.

It is significant that it was Sieyès who at the beginning of the revolution gave the concept of the nation its modern meaning. In his essay, *What Is the third Estate?* he raised and answered three questions of paramount importance; 'What is the third estate? -Everything. What has it been up to now in the political order of things? - nothing. What will it become? - Something.' [...] The third estate felt itself ready, and Laclos declared in the *Deliberations*, [...] 'The Third Estate; that 'is' the nation!'

In his essay Sieyès has described the nation as a 'community of united individuals subject to the same law and represented by the same legislative body.' But, influenced by the ideas of Rousseau, he extended the meaning of this purely technical definition and made the nation the original basis of all political and social institutions. Thus the nation became the actual embodiment of the common will in Rousseau's sense; 'Her will is always lawful, for she is herself the embodiment of the law.' [...] On the 16th of June, 1789, the representatives of the third estate, who had been joined by the lower clergy, on the motion of Abbé Sieyès declared themselves to be the National Assembly, with the argument that they constituted 96 percent of the nation anyhow, and that the other 4 percent were at any time free to join them [...] before the 'sovereignty of the nation.' [...] the third article in the *Declaration* announced; 'The principle of all sovereignty rests by its very nature in the nation. No corporation and no individual can exercise an authority which does not openly emanate from it.' ⁸⁶

The "corporation" referred to here denotes the construct of the State, in contrast to the Nation which is endowed with the will to make law. The merging of the quest for sovereignty and the Nation as the lawful will results in the notion of the "sovereignty of the nation".

⁸⁶ Rucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-175.

It was Ernest Renan who made this notion explicit to the effect that;

C'est la gloire de la France d'avoir, par la Révolution française, proclamé qu'une nation existe par elle-même. Nous ne devons pas trouver mauvais qu'on nous imite. Le principe des nations est le nôtre. [...]

Il faut donc admettre qu'une nation peut exister sans principe dynastique, et même que des nations qui ont été formées par des dynasties peuvent se séparer de cette dynastie sans pour cela cesser d'exister. Le vieux principe qui ne tient compte que du droit des princes ne saurait plus être maintenu; outre le droit dynastique, il y a le droit national.⁸⁷

Thought though precedes its actual elaboration, which in this case found its expression in the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx was so impressed by its potential that he wrote twenty years afterwards that;

Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the state was put into the hands of the Commune. [...] The unity of the nation was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, to be organized by the communal constitution, and to become a reality by the destruction of the state power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the old government power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself and restored to the responsible agents of society.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Ernest Renan, *op. cit.*, pp. 894 -895.

⁸⁸ Karl Marx, 'The Civil War in France', *Marx & Engels : Basic Writings on Politics & Philosophy*, Lewis S. Feuer (ed.), Garden City, NY, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co. inc., 1959, pp. 366-367.

As such, the civic conception of the nation is found fully embellished in the elaboration of civil society.

The *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) offers a conception of society that is undifferentiated from the State, "Leviathan is Hobbes's name for the organic structure which is the sovereign power and people together",⁸⁹ although it is noted in respect to his work *De Cive* (1651) that;

One of Hobbes's most important distinctions is that between natural man and civilized man. The importance of this distinction can be seen from this remark, 'To speak impartially, both sayings are very true; 'that man to man is a kind of G~d'; and that 'man to man is an arrant wolf'. The first is true, if we compare citizens among themselves; and the second, if we compare cities.' (D.C., Dedicatory, p. 89)⁹⁰

The distinction between "citizens among themselves" and "cities" each derive from civil society and the state. Hobbes describes Civil Society (unlike the state of nature⁹¹) rather poetically as;

one person, of whose acts a great multitude by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient, for their peace and common defence.⁹²

John Locke (1632-1704) presented a conception of Society for which

⁸⁹ Thomas Hobbes. *Leviathan*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, Introduction, p. xviii.

⁹⁰ Thomas Hobbes. *Man and Citizen (De Homine and De Cive)*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Co., 1991, p. 11.

⁹¹ Hobbes. *Leviathan*, op. cit., p., *De Cive* preface, xviii.

⁹² Hobbes, *Leviathan*, op. cit., Chapter XVII, # [88] 13, p. 114.

he used the term 'commonwealth', and while not actually referring to a national identity, he insisted on differentiating his conception from administrative institutions.

By 'commonwealth' I must be understood all along to mean not a democracy, or any form of government, by [but] any independent community which the Latins signified by the word 'civitas', to which the word which best answers in our language is 'commonwealth,' and most properly expresses such a society of men which 'community' does not (for there may be subordinate communities in a government), and 'city' much less.⁹³

The "society of men" fulfills the concept of civil society and is so named after the Latin word 'civitus'. Locke's formulation is found often and in various situations from the Cromwellian revolution to the Canadian political party of Tommy Douglas named the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).

As indicated, the presence of civil society was apparent to Hegel even though he treated this manifestation of society as subsumed by the State. Nonetheless Hegel was obliged to differentiate between civil society and the state in terminology, "the strictly political state and its constitution" as a "civil power"⁹⁴, as distinguished from the State.

The inner side of the state as such is the civil power, while its outward tendency is the military power, although this has a fixed place inside the state itself. Now to have both these powers in equilibrium constitutes an important factor in the spirit of the state.⁹⁵

⁹³ John Locke, *op. cit.*, Chapter X #133, p. 260.

⁹⁴ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 163. (see also translator's notes #267, pp. 9, 364.)

⁹⁵ Hegel, *Ibid.*, endnote #163, p. 285.

The matter that is posed, with respect to the 'equilibrium' of the state, is the indication that a contradiction exists between those two aspects mentioned above. It often arises that the military takes control away from the governing institutions in the name of the state when the civil society takes upon itself a degree of autonomy that is reflected in the government contesting State Authority, as in the case of an elected legislature.

The emergence of Society in political theory becomes apparent when the Contract theorists based on the conception that a social contract is established between two parties, the People and the government, became transformed and moved to the conception that Society constitutes itself through Contract without intermediary. The former view is represented in the initial reference that,

We find it put very clearly by the Convention Parliament of 1688, which accuses James II of having 'endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people.' [...]

This second view, which may be called the Social Contract theory proper, regards society as originating in, or based on, an agreement between the individuals composing it. It seems to be found first, rather vaguely, in Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, from which Locke largely borrowed: and it reappears, in varying forms, in Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and in Locke's *Treatises on Civil Government*. The best-known instance of its actual use is by the Pilgrim Fathers on the *Mayflower* in 1620, in whose declaration occurs the phrase; 'We do solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic.'⁹⁶

⁹⁶ G.D.H. Cole, 'Introduction', xi-xliv, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, Immanuel Kant, London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1975, p. xix.

The latter view in Contract theory points to this particular example for the reason that a social pact is formed as such, without any apparent government, Monarch, State or even territory involved, only a sailing ship. The conclusion evident to Richard Hooker was that; "in the nature of things it is by no means impossible that men could live in social relations without public government".⁹⁷ Thomas Paine in the reference following continued in the same vein, giving society the independence it warrants in comparison to the State.

Society is in every state a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one: for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries 'by a government', which we should expect in a country 'without a government', our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. [...]

Paine warned his contemporaries against delusive faith in the wisdom of a government in which he saw merely a 'national administrative body upon which is imposed the duty of making effective the basic principles prescribed by society.'

Burke's earlier essay, 'A Vindication of Natural Society,' which appeared in 1756, is just regarded as one of the earliest written contributions of modern anarchism; its author anticipated many of Godwin's conclusions.⁹⁸

The distinct nature of society is apparent to various analyses and presents the formidable challenge of formulating the exigencies of an organized society on its own merits, as Civil Society.

The opinion that the politics of the family are fundamental to the well-being of society, projects an image of society that is none other than the State.

⁹⁷ Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁹⁸ Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Sympathy expressed for the conception that Society is a grand family, is simply based in the image of Authority as it conceives of itself. This was a point of reference for Proudhon who defined civil society as a departure from the State Monarchy;

Dans le même sens, en novembre 1848, dans le *Manifeste électoral du peuple*, il déclare; [...] « Les défenseurs de la monarchie nous ont appris que c'était à l'image de la famille que les monarchies s'étaient constituées. La famille est l'élément patriarcal ou dynastique, le rudiment de la royauté; le type de la société civile est la société fraternelle »⁹⁹₃₁

Apart from what Society is not, one proceeds to consider the distinct character of Civil Society. Proudhon does define Civil Society in the manner of the theorists of the contract;

the social contract 'par excellence' is a federal contract, which we define as ; a bilateral and commutative contract concerning one or more specific objects, having as its necessary condition that the contracting parties retain more sovereignty and a greater scope of action than they gave up.¹⁰⁰

The nature of Civil Society is definably as well, in organizational terms;

The whole science of constitutions is here. I shall summarize it in three propositions.

1/ Form groups of a modest size, individually sovereign, and unite them by a federal pact.

⁹⁹ pierre haubtmann, *la philosophie sociale de p.-j. proudhon*, grenoble, presses universitaires de grenoble, 1980, p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ P.-J. Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, Toronto : University of Toronto Press, p. 43.

2/ Within each federated state organize government on the principle of organic separation; that is, separate all powers that can be separated, define everything that can be defined, distribute what has been separated and defined among distinct organs and functionaries; leave nothing undivided; subject public administration to all the constraints of publicity and control.

3/ Instead of absorbing the federated states and provincial and municipal authorities within a central authority, reduce the role of the centre to that of general initiation, of providing guarantees and supervising and make the execution of its orders subject to the approval of the federated governments and their responsible agents - just as, in a constitutional monarchy, every order by the king must be countersigned by a minister in order to become effective.¹⁰¹

Although the nature of Civil Society has been noted in nineteenth century theory, there has been a lag in its implementation due to the influence of the Nation-State paradigm and its propagation by the Marxist current as well as in Liberal ideology.

It has been demonstrated that the standard preconditions for the application of national recognition are based in the differentiation between the State and the Society, by the deconstruction of the State and by the reciprocal liberation of the Civil Society;

the general notion of state includes elements that need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that state = political society + civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion). [...]

The expressions 'ethical state' or 'civil society' would thus mean that this 'image' of a state without a state was present to the

¹⁰¹ Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, op. cit., p. 49.

greatest political and legal thinkers...¹⁰²

It is this 'civil society', referred to by Gramsci, which pertains to nationalities and Society at large.³² However this theorist presents a stagiest paradigm of development with the State as the precondition that annuls the autonomy of 'civil society';

This 'statolatry' [State idolatry] is nothing other than the normal form of 'state life', or at least of initiation to autonomous state life and to the creation of a 'civil society' which it was not historically possible to create before the ascent to independent state life.¹⁰³

The assumption here is a common one; that the formation of the State precedes the formation of Civil Society. Such an allusion to the Civil Society obscures the existence of Nations, the existence of which are treated as objects designated as, "to dominate them and direct them".¹⁰⁴

The reification of Civil Society into an adjunct of the State superstructure does not meet up well with Gramsci's other conception of a 'national-popular collective will' which, it is stated, preceded the formation of the State; "it was precisely such a Jacobin force which in other nations awakened and organized the national-popular collective will, and founded the modern states."¹⁰⁵ This rests in contradiction to Gramsci's previous perception of the state preceding Civil Society. This contradiction is noted as well by

¹⁰² David Forgacs (ed.), *An Antonio Gramsci Reader : selected writings, 1916-1935*, New York, Schocken Books, 1988, p. 235.

¹⁰³ Forgacs, *Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹⁰⁴ Forgacs, *Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁰⁵ Forgacs, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

Perry Anderson,

On peut dire que ces formules révèlent que Gramsci a souvent conscience du fait que le rôle de l'État, en Occident, 'dépasse' en quelque sorte celui de la société civile. [...] dans cette version finale, la 'distinction' même entre État et société civile est annulée. Cette solution entraîne de graves conséquences qui sapent à la base toute tentative scientifique pour définir la spécificité de la démocratie bourgeoise en Occident.¹⁰⁶

At one point Marx himself explicitly drew a distinction between the State and the Society, being influenced by the Paris Commune and orienting to the entry of Bakunin's many adherents into the First International. Anderson here notes;

car il avait 'un autre' sens pour Marx [de société civile], qui n'en faisait pas un synonyme des besoins économiques individuels, mais un désignation générique pour toutes les institutions non étatiques dans une formation sociale capitaliste. [...]

La Guerre civile en France, qui fait pendant au *18 Brumaire*, est l'ouvrage qui fournit une théorie du régime diamétralement opposé au bonapartisme.

« L'antithèse directe de l'Empire, ce fut la Commune. [...] L'unité de la nation ne devait pas être brisée; mais, au contraire, être organisée par la Constitution communale et devait devenir une réalité par la destruction du pouvoir d'État qui prétendait être l'incarnation de cette unité indépendante de la nation même; et supérieure à elle; [...] ses fonctions légitimes seraient arrachées à une autorité qui usurpait une prééminence au-dessus de la société elle-même, et rendues aux agents responsables de la société » (Marx, *La Guerre civile en France*, Paris, 1946,

¹⁰⁶ Perry Anderson, 'Sur Gramsci', Paris, François Maspero, 1978 (de *New Left Review*, no. 100, novembre 1976), p. 58.

p. 51, 53).

La Critique du programme de Gotha reprend la même opposition;

« La liberté consiste à transformer l'État, organe érigé
au-dessus de la société, en un organe entièrement
subordonné à la société »¹⁰⁷₃₃

Gramsci's contradiction is nonetheless one that was introduced by Marx who treated civil society to an economic determinist perspective corresponding to the bourgeois State 'stage' of capitalist development. This leaves Civil Society torn out of Society at large by the roots. As in *L'idéologie allemande* Marx and Engels' definition refers to economic relations, even though reference is made to distinguish State from nation and nationality;

« La société civile embrasse l'ensemble des rapports matériels des individus à l'intérieur d'un stade de développement déterminé des forces productives. Elle embrasse l'ensemble de la vie commerciale et industrielle d'un étape et déborde par là même l'État et la nation, bien qu'elle doive, par ailleurs, s'affirmer à l'extérieur comme nationalité et s'organiser à l'intérieur comme État. »

Société civile et société politique ne coïncident donc pas.¹⁰⁸

The reduction of all social phenomena in Civil Society to economic relations nonetheless cannot obscure the existence of the Nation in Society as distinct from the State, in effect, 'political society'¹⁰⁹. This distinction is elaborated somewhat by Marx making it into a particular concept of his analysis;

¹⁰⁷ P. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60.

¹⁰⁸ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, footnote 14, pp. 22 & 44 [see also, p. 28.]

¹⁰⁹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, Buffalo, N.Y., Prometheus Books, 1986, p. 1.

Et le jour où il devient possible de parler de liberté, l'Etat cesse d'exister comme tel. Aussi, proposerions-nous de mettre partout à la place du mot Etat le mot Communauté (Gemeinwesen), excellent vieux mot allemand, répondant au mot français Commune.¹¹⁰

although a certain confusion is introduced with respect to the concept of 'Gemeinschaft'.

'La société civile' is seen to exist in the autonomy ascribed to the judiciary, as in the independence of the judiciary in the constitution of such many states. Civil Society can also be differentiated from the State as the organizational expression of the political culture.

As Rudolf Rocker put it, "State and Culture are irreconcilable opposites".¹¹¹

Proudhon similarly wrote that, «S'il est Etat, il est antinational». ¹¹² The implications for Civil Society become clear as the 'people/folk/masses' (peasant and worker classes) have become politically active and have taken on the name of the Nation unto themselves and used it against the literate elite who previously monopolized the concept. The degree to which such revolutions have succeeded is judged by Rocker in the context of the French Revolution;

¹¹⁰ Karl Marx, *Critique du Programme de Gotha*, Pekin, Editions en Langues Etrangères, 1972, p. 41.

¹¹¹ Rudolf Rocker, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, London, Freedom Press, Anarchist Classics, 1973, p. 15.

¹¹² Jacques (Groupe La Vache Folle), 'On n'en a pas fini avec la nation...', *Le Monde Libertaire*, No. 894, 24 au 30 décembre 1992

The 'republicans' gave to the republic as content absolutism dressed up as the nation, and so destroyed the genuine community of the people of the 'res publica' [civil society].¹¹³₃₄

A further development begins to discuss the dynamics of Society. This makes an interesting point of departure for the elaboration;

Dualité du projet national.

Un tel projet a donc deux composantes. D'un côté, la pluralité et la diversité des formes et des sujets de l'injustice à faire cesser, les objectifs et les intérêts de chacun des groupes fédérés dans la nation [avec la sens de la Société] et leur évolution. De l'autre, l'unité nécessaire à une action conjointe et la symbolique du rassemblement tendant à une uniformisation globalisant des fondements et des modalités de l'action, au déploiement d'une « autorité d'entraînement » antinomique du projet.

La tension équilibrée entre ces deux composantes dont aucune ne s'exclut donne au phénomène national son sens. Lorsque la tension équilibrée disparaît, la nation est morte, soit par épuisement des colonés [sic] libres, soit le plus souvent par la force écrasante du pouvoir d'Etat. L'Etat-Nation est un non-sens, une impossibilité dirait Proudhon. S'il est Etat, il est antinational.

L'Etat contre la nation.

La Nation-Etat l'est aussi; la nation ne peut se résoudre dans un Etat, sauf à renoncer à sa liberté, à la permanente confrontation des intérêts particuliers réglés par de libre [sic] contrats. Il y a donc une dynamique co-substantielle à l'idée de nation. Blanqui disait, en parlant de la « circulation » des idées et des hommes (on dirait aujourd'hui la communication) ; « Tout par elle, rien sans elle ».

Dynamique nationale.

Cette « circulation » est à refaire chaque jour dans la construction d'une nation. Si, comme le dit Proudhon, « l'Etat est

¹¹³ Rocker, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-432.

étranger au droit, indifférent à toute idée morale, simple instrument de force », au contraire, la nation n'existe que fondée sur la prééminence du droit, l'élan pour une morale d'action en commun, l'association, la solidarité mutuelle et la justice.¹¹⁴

Similarly Émile Durkheim (like Kant) makes a distinction in jurisprudence between two sorts of Law.

Les jurisconsultes, en effet, distinguent deux sortes de droits; ils donnent aux uns le nom de réels, aux autres celui de personnels.¹¹⁵

In judging the nature of the personal, Durkheim distinguishes the context of these two areas of Law.³⁵ It is not that the individual remains isolated in society to be regulated by the State alone;

Ces relations sont donc bien différentes de celles que réglemente le droit répressif, car celles-ci rattachent directement et sans intermédiaire la conscience particulière à la conscience collective, c'est-à-dire l'individu à la société.¹¹⁶

It is here that the precise identity of the collective consciousness is presented as the members of Society, in effect Civil Society. The 'common will' of Hegel and the 'general will' of Rousseau follow in parallel this identification of the 'collective conscience' by Durkheim and the 'collective will' of Gramsci with Civil Society (though the matter is complicated by the context of national-culture or the Civil Society at large).

¹¹⁴ Jacques (Groupe La Vache Folle), *op. cit.*

¹¹⁵ Émile Durkheim, *De La Division du Travail Social*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1978, p. 84.

¹¹⁶ Durkheim, *Ibid*, p. 83.

As Gramsci himself acknowledges; the 'national revolution' has the responsibility of surpassing the class divisions of the toilers in order to oppose the State's traditional class supporters.

Any formation of a national-popular collective will is impossible unless the great mass of peasant farmers bursts 'simultaneously' into political life. That Machiavelli understood it reveals a precocious Jacobinism that is the (more or less fertile) germ of his conception of national revolution. All history from 1815 onwards shows the efforts of the traditional classes to prevent the formation of a collective will of this kind, and to maintain 'economic-corporate' power in an international system of passive equilibrium.¹¹⁷

It is the mass popular social cohesion that makes possible the national character of the revolutionary process, exhibiting the national collective will which consequently nationalizes the Land. By corollary the economy is socialized as well, so becoming a common resource. For example, the English revolution of 1529-1642, led to the conversion of 'Crown Lands' into Common Lands or 'Commons'. Various other examples, in the context where territorial independence is secured, demonstrate that social engineering by a State apparatus is not essential to the process of Nation formation.

Gramsci believed that a stage of 'Statolatry' serves to develop a form of civil society, on the part of;

¹¹⁷ Forgacs (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 242.

urban social groups which have attained an adequate development in the field of industrial production and a certain level of historico-political culture.¹¹⁸

Correspondingly, the Nation is made to be dependent upon a State, built upon the exclusive Civil Society of an elite class based in urban industry. Although controlled by the bourgeoisie, Civil Society in its entirety is also a complementary formation of the workers and toilers who form the bulk mass of society, whereas the State is merely a reflection of the bourgeois class. However, Gramsci, Marx and Engels associate the bourgeoisie with Civil Society, by empirical association with the State. Accordingly social transformation involves the maturation of the worker-creators of industry and culture by acquiring the means and/or cooperation of the administrators. The unification of Civil Society is thus dependent upon the abolition of class stratification, since the conflicting class interests are irreconcilable thus preventing the reconciliation of the various social/class formations into Civil Society. In addition, the major and minoritarian nationalities in pluralist society must achieve a degree of mutual recognition to proceed with the 'rapprochement' of Society. However the simple levelling of all concerned subject to a mechanical process will not suffice to nurture Civil Society. The dissolution of class and national segregation is merely a precondition for the self-formation of civil society, transforming Society to halt the use of Civil Society as the personal vehicle of the bourgeoisie. By such a criteria civil society is the organized expression of Society, which is itself composed of its various nations, genders, classes, and other social formations.

One example of the demarcation of the State from the Society is sharply noted by the collective pastoral letter to the Québec episcopate in 1879,

¹¹⁸ Forgacs (ed.), *op. cit.* p. 242.

saying;

Not only is the Church independent of civil society - she is superior to it by reason of her extent and her goal [...] It is not the Church which is comprised in the State; it is the State which is comprised in the Church (Falardeau 1964: 346).¹¹⁹

The double error of assuming that religious institutions exist apart from civil society and even include the State, is merely an ideological conclusion generated by theology. The logic of Theocracy goes further still to dissociate itself from the nation;

'It is not necessary that we possess money and industry. We will no longer be French Catholics, but Americans almost like the others. Our mission is to possess the earth and spread ideas. To cling to the soil, to raise large families, to maintain the hearths of intellectual and spiritual life, that must be our role in America ', (Wade, 1964: 48.)¹²⁰

The logic of the State and its ideological expressions rationalize its own existence even to the extent of sacrificing the Nation. There can be no critique more profound than what the State and its proponents offer as a self-justification. Delos however presents an echo of the sociological conception of the nation which is presented aside from the state but not a territory;

La conscience nationale a pour objet propre le contenu d'un milieu historique particulier. Une nation est un peuple qui prend conscience

¹¹⁹ K.O'S. See, 'The Social Origins of Ethnic-National Identities in Ireland and Canada', pp. 107-129, *National and Ethnic Movements*, Beverly Hills, Sage Publication, 1980, p. 123.

¹²⁰ K.O'S. See, *Ibid.*, p. 123.

de lui-même selon ce que l'histoire l'a fait. [...] Le cas de Juifs ne fait pas problème. Dans la mesure où ils forment une communauté sans terre, c'est une communauté religieuse, morale et culturelle; dans la mesure où il contractent des liens avec la terre, ils amorcent une différenciation qui les nationalise au sein même de leur communauté.¹²¹

As such nation is identified with a territory which it is presumed implies a State in formation, "Elle aspire presque toujours à devenir État".¹²² In this way a parallel is made between the aspirations of the Zionist movement and the 'peuple Québécois' leaving aside the collective national rights of the indigenous Jewish national community, among others. Nonetheless a differentiation is made by Delos between the orientation of the Nation and the State to territory, the former being a lieu of work and the latter a question of authority.¹²³

Recent analyses of the State have emerged which point to the differentiation to be made between the Civil Society and its associated State.

as Pierre Birnbaum writes,

[...] the state thus emerged as an institutionalized politico-administrative machine served by officials who identified themselves with their functions, and cut off from civil society over which it tried to exercise total guardianship...

Pierre Birnbaum accordingly draws a clear distinction

¹²¹ Delos, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 103.

¹²² Delos, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹²³ Delos, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

between the state and either the 'political centre' or civil society...¹²⁴

Likewise, Nicos Poulantzas draws a clear distinction,

It seems evident that the two objects of study, 'state' and 'society', can on no account be equated or dealt with at the same level without running the risk of considerably enlarging the scope of the research.

It is, of course, impossible to speak of the contemporary state without referring to the society underlying it, nor can society be divorced from the state which governs it. The fact remains, however, that according to whether we choose the state or society as the focal point of our research, our approach to the other term will necessarily be different. If we consider the problem from the standpoint of society, the state will indeed come into it, but not so much for its own sake as in terms of its effects on, and its presence in society.¹²⁵

The arduous process of arriving at the evident conclusion that Civil Society merits study as Society rather than as a State, sets the context for the critique of the State to proceed to the formulation of Society as it has been analysed and how it may come to be. Anderson reveals that the nation, "[...] is imagined as a 'community', because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (Anderson, 1991: 6-7)" so relating nation to civil society.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ International Social Science Journal, *On the state* (editorial by Ali Kazancigil), UNESCO, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, 1980, p. 592.

¹²⁵ Nicos Poulantzas, *Ibid.*, 'Research note on the state and society', pp. 600-608, *On the state*, International Social Science Journal, p. 600.

¹²⁶ Trevor Purvis, 'Marxism and the Problem of the Nation', pp. 33-56, *Socialist Studies Bulletin / Bulletin d'Etudes Socialistes*, Number 44 (April-May-June 1996), Winnipeg, 47.

Kant makes a distinction between the 'form of sovereignty' and the 'form of government' in their constitutional elaboration, a distinction that corresponds to the differentiation between the State and Civil Society since it is the general will that constitutes a constitution in the latter case;

The forms of the state may be divided, either according to the persons who enjoy the sovereign power, or according to the mode of administration exercised by the chief, under whatever title, over a people. The first is called 'form of sovereignty' ('forma imperii'), of which there can be but three: 'autocracy', where one alone possesses supreme power; 'aristocracy', when divided between a few; 'democracy', when exercised by all the members of society.

The second is the 'form of government' ('forma regiminis'); this is the constitutional mode, according to which the general will of the people has decided that its power shall be exercised; and in this relation it is either 'republican' or 'despotic'. 'Republicanism' is the political principle according to which the executive power (the government) is separated from the legislative. 'Despotism' is where the legislator executes his own laws, consequently where the private will of the chief is substituted to the will of the public.¹²⁷

The essential nature of Civil Society thus rests in its Constitution. Although there may be legislation which is substituted for the constitution and given the name of constitution (of the State), it remains nonetheless only a law (such as the British North Act of 1867). The nature of a constitution is social and is presumed to be the expression of the general will, consequently it cannot be legislated. The means by which a social constitution is formulated and codified is through the constitutional assembly and the technique of ratification by referendum. The example of the United States of America's constitution is a flawed due to the lack of universal suffrage and a deliberative voice for the

¹²⁷ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 14-15.

African people (nations) brought to North America as slaves as well as the ghettoisation of the Native Nations. The northern colonies/states no less excluded the African Americans from civil society and presumed the right to deport their descendants to Africa, including the mixed offspring. This evident lack of reciprocity is an abrogation of that which is integral to the formation of a civil society. The implications for democracy are followed in Section 1.3.1 'Unanimity and Majoritarianism', and for reciprocity in 'Chapter III'.

The consequences of substituting the State for the free functioning of independent Civil Society become increasingly serious as the matter is elaborated. Kant concluded in effect that, "The form of government is, however, of far greater importance to a people than the form of sovereignty",¹²⁸ so proceeding to the conclusion that, "a republican constitution is the only one that is entirely conformable to the rights of man, it is also the most difficult to establish and to maintain [...]".¹²⁹

This follows from the nature of, or lack of, an elaborated Civil Society. If it is the function of the general will to formulate and put into effect a Republic, it is then incumbent upon such a Society to give expression to its general will in some manifestation of its collective will, as a republican constitution;

It is doubtless no enough, in order to accomplish it, that each individual should desire to live according to the principles of liberty in a legal constitution, or to make use of scholastic terms; that there be distributive unity of the will of all, it is likewise necessary that there be collective unity of the will of all in behalf of this condition. Not the dispersed individuals, but the organs by which they co-

¹²⁸ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹²⁹ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

operate as a body, form the civil society into a whole.¹³⁰

Civil Society is then to be identified by the organs of co-operation which constitute the functioning mechanism of society, giving expression to the general will. Such political organs are of necessity integrated into the social constitution and constitute the autonomous organizational formations representing each social formation, whether it be based in class, gender, nationality, region, generation or interest.¹³¹ In addition, and basic to the formulation of such a constitution, is the inclusion of such representative bodies into the structure of that constitution, thus reflecting the nature of the Civil Society.

1.2.4 Ethnic Conceptions in German Political Theory

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) made a distinction between the proponents of the State opposing Nature, and those who propose Nature in opposition to the State (the advocates of natural law) thus upholding the Nation against the State formation. This latter organic perspective is related to the environmental conception of the ethnic definition of Nation.

His distinction finding favour in the Nation formulated the national concept as an entirely different perspective which went beyond the civic conception alone. Herder put this discussion forward in his manner,

Kindly considerate was it therefore in Providence, to prefer
the easier happiness of individuals to the artificial ends of great

¹³⁰ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹³¹ see Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

societies, and spare generations these costly machines of state as much as possible. It has wonderfully separated nations, not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations, and characters; that the work of subjugating despotism might be rendered more difficult, [...] and though it has been for centuries the object of united Europe, to erect herself into a despot, compelling all the nations of the Earth to happy in her way, this happiness-dispensing deity is yet far from having obtained her end. [...] Ye men of all quarters of the Globe, who have perished in the lapse of ages, ye have not lived and enriched the Earth with your ashes, that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by European civilization; is not a proud thought of this kind treason against the majesty of nature? ¹³²

Accordingly, Herder's inclination was that "A 'Volk' is virtually any group that has a name and a culture", ¹³³ while abhorring colonialism.

Natural law serves to undermine the political constructions fostered upon Society in an attempt to manipulate social existence for private purposes. However Natural Law here is ambiguous because it serves to rationalize that which exists irrespective of its internal contradictions, as Herder tends to do. While discounting the State he nonetheless makes the methodological error identifying Nation with Society, thus reducing his perspective to the individual family member in a homogeneous context. He makes the methodological error in much the manner of Hegel who makes an identity of the Nation and the State. Herder's rejection of the State in preference to the Nation is nonetheless remarkable enough to distinguish between the two, unlike Hegel. Unfortunately national minorities are treated by Herder as Statist anomalies

¹³² Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Reflections on The Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784-91), Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1968

¹³³ Frank E. Manuel, 'Introduction', *Reflections on The Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, by Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

without the right to exist, since they represent a contradiction in his natural order of the Nations.

The lack of distinction between the individual family member and the Nation is contained in Herder's opposition to national minorities. His Aristotelian assumption is that the individual is a member of only a particular national culture and that such a nation is equivalent to the society by virtue of exclusive family ties.

It is nature which educates families; the most natural state is, therefore, 'one' nation, an extended family with one national character. This it retains for ages and develops most naturally if the leaders come from the people and are wholly dedicated to it. For a nation is as natural a plant as a family, only with more branches. Nothing, therefore, is more manifestly contrary to the purpose of political government than the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixing of various races and nationalities under one sceptre. A human sceptre is far too weak and slender for such incongruous parts to be engrafted upon it. Such states are but patched-up contraptions, fragile machines, appropriately called state-'machines', for they are wholly devoid of inner life, and their component parts are connected through mechanical contrivances instead of bonds of sentiment. Like Trojan horses these machines are pieced together, guaranteeing one another's immortality; yet since they are bereft of national character, it would only be the curse of Fate which would condemn to immortality these forced unions, these lifeless monstrosities. They were contrived by that kind of politics which plays with men and nations as if they were inanimate particles. But history shows sufficiently that these instruments of human pride are formed of clay, and, like all clay, they will dissolve or crumble to pieces.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ J.G. Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 324.

The error lies in the identification of the Nation with the family, as if there were merely a quantitative difference between the two. This linear line of thought is at the root of his conception of the Society, that is Monist, in the philosophical sense. He conceives of one authority over the many as practised in the family and rationalized by religion. It is unfortunate that Herder equates the State to poly-national society, though he has actually written to oppose empire and resorted to naming it the State because of its similar attributes. In a sense, this refers to an internal domestic empire.

Notably, this fundamental error leads him immediately into contradiction as revealed in the following. While he had already stated that, "Some for instance, have thought fit to employ the term 'races' for four or five divisions, according to regions of origin or complexion. I see no reason for employing this term", ¹³⁵ he nonetheless employs this very term in his previous citation, "the wild mixing of various races and nationalities under one sceptre", oblivious to his own objection.

The liaison between the family and the nation is insidious in that a biological link is made out to be the basis of the nation. The notion that the family is the foundation of the nation, as an extended familial network, is flawed for the reason that a biological criterion is proposed for a social phenomenon, the Nation. The Chilean anthropologist Alejandro Lipschutz explains;

This discrimination that is called 'racial' is nothing but a powerful instrument of 'social' discrimination, in defense of social privileges acquired by conquest [...] Racial discrimination between different human ethnic groups, the notion that some human races are

¹³⁵ Herder, *Ibid.*, p. 284.

'predestined' to rule and others to obey, has antecedents thousands of years old. This concept of a *social* predestination deriving from a 'biological' and racial one, European thought acquired from Aristotle * [...] So tranquillizing is the concept of biological predestination that we forget any other concept of the origin of social stratification among men. We hardly know the name of those pre-Aristotelian historians who insisted that the division into masters and slaves is not the result of 'physis', or differentiated nature, but of 'nomos', of law imposed by human malevolence, dictated by the interest of one group, and facilitated by brute force.

* The "Nature" ('physis') of every man is given "right from the moment of birth"; and this nature determines that some are made to command, and others to obey. (Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 18)¹³⁶

The term 'race' was used in nineteenth century references to various nations as if there was a biological genetic differentiation to be made within the human species corresponding to national divisions. This formalised criterion came to be known as 'racialism'. In place of culture, a biological dogma is hoisted upon the Nation.

Herder was not alone in his misconception, it was a dominant treatment of the nation in Kant as well. Kant resorted to an economist characterization of Nation which adopts the character of an Order as the national-identity of a People.

Chez Kant enfin, Poliakov relève dans *L'Anthropologie* ;

« Les Palestiniens [les Juifs] qui vivent entre nous ont la réputation fort justifiée d'être des escrocs à cause de l'esprit d'usure qui règne parmi la majeure partie d'entre eux. Il est vrai qu'il est étrange de se représenter une nation d'escrocs; mais il est tout aussi étrange de se représenter une nation de commerçants, dont la partie la plus important, reliée par une ancienne superstition reconnue par

¹³⁶ Stanley Ryerson, *Unequal Union*, Toronto, Progress Books, 1973, pp. 380-381.

l'État où ils vivent, ne recherchent pas l'honneur civique, et veulent compenser cette défaillance par l'avantage de tromper le peuple qui leur accorde sa protection, ou même de se tromper les uns les autres. Mais une nation qui n'est composée que de commerçants, c'est-à-dire de membres non productifs de la société, ne peut être autre chose que cela. » ¹³⁷₃₆

Causality operates as reverse effect with such logic where the empirical characteristic of the Jewish civil economy was itself a consequence of the efforts of the State to maintain a segregated Order between the German Christian nation and the German Jewish nationality, in the effort to maintain the homogenous position of the dominant nation to harmonize with the exclusivist conception of the State over Society, by a monopolization of the territory's lands.

1.2.4.1 The Hegelian Conception of Nation

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) refined the identity of Nation and State into the expression of that standardized 'Nation-State' formulation, which he then treats as a concept, "The nation state is mind in its substantive rationality and immediate actuality and is therefore the absolute power on earth". ¹³⁸

This formulation unveils that illness derived from Herder, which treats the Nation in isolation from other such social formations. The distinction that Herder made between the Nation and the State is resolved for Hegel by

¹³⁷ Georges Bensoussan, *Génocide Pour Mémoire*, France : Editions du Felin, 1989, p. 26.

¹³⁸ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

attaching the State to the Nation, as if one were hitching an animal to a cart. Hegel equates the Nation with the State, in the sense that the State is formed to encompass one and only one Nation, so adopting the attributes of a State for the Nation. While this may be essential to the Hegelian conception of the State, it is not an accurate reflection of Society and its component Nations. In order to resolve the contradiction with the Society at large, it is presumed that Society comprises just one nationality and that other national social formations are nonexistent, by way of their redefinition into some other category such as that of a religion only. The proposition, by corollary, for assimilation into the dominant Nation and its State is a further 'problematique'.

It is this abstraction of the Nation-State that sets up a false image of the Society, that comprises a false consciousness, and that ends by being in contradiction with its actuality. The Society is the actual 'it' that is real and not the ideology of its perception.

Following from his presumption, Hegel is led into hierarchy when different rights are counterpoised;

Yet at the same time collision involves another moment, namely the fact that it is restrictive, and so if two rights collide one is subordinated to the other. It is only the right of the world-mind which is absolute without qualification.¹³⁹

In the Hegelian State the prioritization of national rights is a matter of the interaction of wills, in particular, the interaction of a will and 'the other' is put into question. It is the role of the State to subordinate one will to another, but there is no basis in theory to subordinate the other to the one, or the one to the

¹³⁹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

other. The choice to subordinate one or the other is a special interest preference and not a function of necessity, unless we are to consider the stability of the norm a necessity, as defined by the interests of one special party. The priority of the State, or its 'divine right', is tied to the existing source of power seeking to maintain its own position, by means of the State. This is far from addressing the needs of a society. Consequently, the role of the State is distinct from that of a national community and the social environment, and for the same reason, the State is evidently an impediment to a nation's expression as an autonomous national-cultural collective will.

Hegel proceeds to present a conception of Society, that of the Nation together with the State and Society; these facets of political existence are considered to be united in the same Aristotelian process even though they had been presented as developing in differing manners in the elaboration that,

The expansion of the family, as its transition into a new principle, is in the external world sometimes its peaceful expansion until it becomes a people, i.e. a nation, which this has a common natural origin, or sometimes the federation of scattered groups of families under the influence of an overlord's power [a pre-State] or as a result of a voluntary association produced by the tie of needs and the reciprocity of their satisfaction [a Society].¹⁴⁰

In his paragraphs numbered 341 and 344, Hegel makes precise distinctions in reference to the State and to Civil Society. The differentiation between the two is presented in the following terms;

It is therefore

(A) ethical mind in its natural or immediate phase - the Family.

¹⁴⁰ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

This substantiality loses its unity, passes over into division, and into the phase of relation, i.e. into

(B) 'Civil Society' - an association of members as self-subsistent individuals in a universality which, because of their self-subsistence, is only abstract. Their association is brought about by their needs, by the legal system - the means to security of person and property - and by an external organization for attaining their particular and common interests. This external state

(C) is brought back (18) to and welded into unity in the Constitution of the State which is the end and actuality of both the substantial universal order and the public life devoted thereto.¹⁴¹

Hegel's Civil Society is thus defined, at least, even though it rests imbedded with the notion of Universality derived from the assumption of national homogeneity, as well as being considered naturally dependent upon the State as an extraneous organization. Rousseau seems to avoid this pitfall by elaborating his general will into a conception for Civil Society and bypassing the concept of Nation associated with its content, the State.

Hegel merely incorporates the nation into the state by definition; "#70 mind has become the state - the mind of a nation objectified in its rational and organic institutions".¹⁴² In this manner, Hegel combines Rousseau's civic conception and his own empirical environmental conception into one, that of the Nation-State. Hegel's Occidental perspective embarks on a route to associate the misery of 'The Germanic realm' with the presence of the Jewish People. This psychological projection is depicted in the fashion typical of Christianity, that associates the Roman occupation's persecution of adherents of the Jewish sect of a social-activist called 'Jesus of Nazareth' (Rebbe Yehoshua ben Josephe)₃₇, with the intentions and character of the Jewish

¹⁴¹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, para. #157., p. 110.

¹⁴² Hegel, *op. cit.* para. #70, p. 33.

people themselves.

#358 (4) 'The Germanic realm'

Mind and its world are thus both alike lost and plunged in the infinite grief (97) of that fate for which a people, the Jewish people, was held in readiness. Mind is here pressed back upon itself in the extreme of its absolute negativity.

97. 'unendlichen Schmerz' [unending hurt/pain];
by these words here as elsewhere (e.g., *Werke* ¹,
i.157) Hegel refers to the Crucifixion, 'the feeling
that God is dead'. ¹⁴³

Such alienation is derived from the theocratic norms of the Christian religious ideology differentiating Christian adherents from the Jewish People-Nation; in effect, "The children of God and the children of the Devil". ¹⁴⁴

However Hegel does develop a form of pluralism with respect to religious and national minorities, which he refers to as 'anomalies'. In his conception he would legitimize the presence of Jewish people both as a religious sect and as a nationality based on their civil rights as individuals. This proposition was not meant to include the rights of citizenship. The basis upon which such a concession is made is with the understanding that such treatment would bring about the harmonization of Jewish people with the hegemonic nature of the State.

Only if the state is otherwise strong can it overlook and suffer such anomalies, because it can then rely principally on the strength of custom and the inner rationality of its institutions to diminish and

¹⁴³ G.F.W. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Oxford University Press, London, (1942) 1949, p. 212.

¹⁴⁴ *Holy Scriptures*, (Ezra (ed.)), *op. cit.*, 1 John 3: 10, p. 1317.

close the gap between the existence of anomalies and the full assertion of its own strict rights. Thus technically it may have been right to refuse a grant of even civil rights to the Jews on the ground that they should be regarded as belonging not merely to a religious sect but to a foreign race. But the fierce outcry raised against the Jews, from that point of view and others, ignores the fact that they are, above all, 'men'; and manhood, so far from being a mere superficial, abstract quality (see Remark to Paragraph 209), is on the contrary itself the basis of the fact that what civil rights rouse in their possessors is the feeling of oneself as counting in civil society as a person with rights, and this feeling of self-hood, infinite and free from all restrictions, is the root from which the desired similarity in disposition and ways of thinking comes into being. To exclude the Jews from civil rights, on the other hand, would rather be to confirm the isolation with which they have been reproached - a result for which the state refusing them rights would be blamable and reproachable, because by so refusing, it would have misunderstood its own basic principle, its nature as an objective and powerful institution (compare the end of the Remark to Paragraph 268). The exclusion of the Jews from civil rights may be supposed; to be a right of the highest kind and may be demanded on that ground; but experience has shown that so to exclude them is the silliest folly, and the way in which governments now treat them has proved itself to be both prudent and dignified.¹⁴⁵

In the most unlikely of sources, we find an appreciation for the cultural underpinnings of the State superstructure (in the sense of national-culture). Nietzsche's (1844-1900) axiom that;

¹⁴⁵ Hegel, *op. cit.*, para #270, pp. 168-169.

Culture and the state - let no one be deceived about this - are antagonists; The 'Culture State' is merely a modern idea. The one lives on the other, the one prospers at the expense of the other. All great periods of culture are periods of political decline. Whatever is great in a cultural sense is non-political, is even anti-political.¹⁴⁶

The refusal of the 'Culture State' clearly drives from a rejection of the Nation-State proposed by Hegel and inspired the anarchist theoretician Rudolph Rocker in his thesis, *Nationalism and Culture*, when he refers to Nietzsche;

Power is never creative. It uses the creative force of a given culture to clothe its nakedness and to increase its dignity. Power is always a negative element in history. It decorates itself in false feathers to give its importance the appearance of creative force. Here also the words in Nietzsche's Zarathustra hit the bull's eye;

Wherever a people still exists, it does not understand the state but hates it like the evil eye and a sin against laws and customs. This sign I give you; Every people speaks its own language of good and evil, which its neighbor does not understand. It invented its own language for laws and customs. But the state lies in all the tongues of good and evil; and whatever it says, it lies. And whatever it has, it has stolen. Everything about it is false.¹⁴⁷

The constant thread found here is the distinction between Civil Society and the State in the first instance and followed by the differentiation between Nation, its national-culture and the State.

¹⁴⁶ Rocker, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84; 3. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Götzen-Dämmerung* ("The Twilight of the Idols").

¹⁴⁷ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

1.2.4.2 Fichte's Nation

The origins of the racist conception of the Nation, derived from national exclusivity, may be pursued in the elaboration by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814);

What noble-minded man does not wish, by act or thought, to sow a seed for the infinite and eternal perfecting of his race [...] ¹⁴⁸

Fichte écrit en 1793 ; « Leur donner [aux Juifs] des droits civiques, ce n'est possible qu'à une condition ; leur couper la tête à tous la même nuit et leur en donner une nouvelle qui ne contienne plus une seule idée juive. » Poliakov cite les *Discours à la nation allemande* de 1808 [...] ¹⁴⁹
] ₃₈

Here Fichte at least recognized that national consciousness arose from human thought and not from the nose gene, or any other racist criteria, although this may be a generous concession.³⁹

Usually Fichte refers to the Nation in the higher sense, but what is in question here are the attributes that he has ascribed to the Nation. The eternal nature of the Nation is given an importance that is absolute; in the sense of being identical to the precedent in familial origin, independent of domination, and predominant among other nations. This means of self-perpetuation

¹⁴⁸ J. G. Fichte, 'Addresses to the German Nation (1807-1808) : Address Eight; The Definition of a Nation in the higher Sense of the Word, and of Patriotism', pp. 69-105, *The German Classics of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries : Masterpieces of German Literature*, Kuno Francke, (ed.), New York, The German Publication Society, 1913, p. 71.

¹⁴⁹ G. Bensoussan, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

presents the Nation as being personified and equivalent to one particular identity, as if it were an individual. In this manner such a description becomes the precondition for the modern State, as opposed to the princely feudal regimes which he discounts. For these reasons, Fichte developed an exclusivist national conception;

The belief of the noble-minded man in the eternal continuance of his activity, even upon this earth, is based, accordingly, on the hope for the eternal continuance of the nation from which he has himself developed, and of its individuality in accordance with that hidden law, without intermixture and corruption by any alien element and by what does not appertain to the totality of this legislation. This individuality is the permanent element to which he intrusts the eternity of himself and of his continued action - the eternal order of things in which he lays his perpetuity. He must desire its continuance, for it is alone the releasing agency whereby the brief span of his life here is extended to a continuous life upon the earth.¹⁵⁰

This proposed separation and segregation of peoples leads to either exclusion, genocide, or a supposed assimilation of minority nationals into a homogeneous national culture (ethnocide), so creating a condition of national oppression.⁴⁰

In addition, the presence of a multiplicity of nationalities within a society, which may or may not be associated with a majoritarian national formation, has led to the heterogeneity of an ever increasing number of countries, so reviving the 'national question'. This pattern, resulting from world migrations, continues and increases as the Earth's land mass is occupied by successive waves of migrations, augmenting the traditional tribal/clan

¹⁵⁰ Fichte, *Ibid.*, p. 74.

divisions of the operative nations. The contradictory concepts of Society and the State, and the differences between Society and Nation, are becoming ever more distended as the character of Society is changed under such prevailing patterns of migration. Meanwhile, the constitutional character of the State usually remains subject to the majoritarian national culture and the dominant political culture retains its control over the State apparatus. The contradiction between the State and Nation has thus led to 'fragmentation' and unveils the actual character of the State as differentiated from Society and its Nations.⁴¹

This differentiation between Society and State parallels the distinction being made between Nation and State, so giving substance to the conception of each national entity, independently of the superstructure that is associated with that national context. With the subsequent differentiation and the possible dissolution of the intervening State structure, the nature of the Nation and Society becomes apparent, revealing the poly-national heterogeneity of Society in a given national-culture's context. The idea of dual-nationality would serve to clarify the position of minoritarian nationalities in such social structures, even though Dubnow the autonomist, could not conceive of such an actuality

Fichte's motivation for national self-perpetuation is based on the Protestant reformist re-evaluation of Christian Catholicism, which is found lacking due to its abstraction of eternal life, together with its consequent sacrifice of the natural life on earth. In addition, Fichte outlines "the law, namely, of the development of the primitive and of the divine" which ascribes a certain divinity or spirit ('geist' in the Hegelian sense) to the eternity and "imperishability" of national culture. Thus, a theological definition of Nation is proposed;

In the higher conception of the world considered in general from the viewpoint of an insight into a spiritual world, a nation is this; The totality of human beings living together in society and constantly perpetuating themselves both bodily and spiritually; and this totality stands altogether under a certain specific law through which the divine develops itself.¹⁵¹

Accordingly, the perpetuation of the Nation is fundamentally the accomplishment of religion. The Nation as the object of religion becomes exclusionary by default. It is as if the Nation is given the attributes of a deity.⁴² No doubt Lutheranism found such inspiration in the covenant of the deity with the Nation as found in the *Torah*, although, the Nation as deity presents additional complications, taking into consideration the existence of other Nations, and in particular, the cohabitation of national minorities present in the common society. Considering that any other Nation may adopt this same methodology, the perpetuity of the Nation subsequently can only be assured by its dominance over any other nation, so justifying Empire, together with its wars, as a spiritual imperative. This inherent contradiction is the basis for the orientation to the Roman Empire whereby, "Unto this day what was really eternal in their eternal Rome lives on and they with it in our midst"¹⁵² [...] even though the Teutons, whom the Romans called Germans, had initially boldly opposed the advancing world-domination of the Roman Empire.¹⁵³

The natural law Fichte proposes, derived from his primordial and divine life of the nation, nonetheless goes far beyond the Hegelian conception of the Nation-State. The Nation exists apart from the State and precedes the State in

¹⁵¹ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁵² Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁵³ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

its historical conception.

As was the case only among the Greeks in antiquity, among the Germans the State and the nation were actually severed from each other, and each was represented separately; the former in the individual German kingdoms and principalities; the latter visibly in the Federation of the Empire, and invisibly - valid not in consequence of written law but as a sequence of a law living in the hearts of all, and in its results striking the eyes at every turn - in a multitude of customs and institutions. As far as the German language extended, every one who saw the light within its domain could regard himself as a citizen in a two-fold sense, partly of his natal city, to whose immediate protection he was recommended; and partly of the entire common fatherland of the German nation.¹⁵⁴

Here the Nation not only precedes the German State that came to be formed, but exists independently of the State. It, the Nation, may also sacrifice the State for the sake of its striving for the eternal.⁴³ This is the 'Nation-Mind' made to be divine.

The dissociation that Fichte makes with the Rousseauian revolutionary State is notably for the extent that he goes to identify the Nation as primal.

when it is a question of hazarding all the aims of the state in the abstract - property, personal freedom, life, welfare, and the continuance of the state itself - when, answerable to God alone, they are called upon to decide without a clear and rational conception of the sure attainment of the end in view [...] then only the true primitive life holds the rudder of the state, and here for the first time enters the true sovereign right of the government, like God, to imperil the lower life for the sake of the higher. [...] Not the spirit of calm civilian love for the constitution and the laws, but the burning

¹⁵⁴ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

flame of the higher patriotism which regards the nation as the veil of the eternal, for which the noble joyfully sacrifices himself, and for which the ignoble, who exists only for the sake of the noble, should also sacrifice himself ! It is not that civilian love for the constitution, for this is absolutely incapable of such action if it is founded on reason alone.¹⁵⁵

The sacrifice of the Nation for the sake of the State is integral to any war of aggrandisement , question of State 'security' and so formed the final demand of the Nazi regime on the German population in the name of nationalist ideology even while extolling the superiority of the Nation as opposed to the "merely mechanical establishment and estimate of the State".¹⁵⁶

It is interesting to consider the criterion he holds for the German Nation as being composed of those "as far as the German tongue extends"¹⁵⁷, since he would have thus been obliged to include the Yiddish-speaking Jewish national communities of Poland and Russia, who maintained their original primordial 'Mittel-Hoch Deutsch' dialect₄₄, (irrespective of their exclusion by the Fichtian hierarchy).

The place given to the German Nation in the Fichtian methodology is maintained in its dominant position by the reduction of the Nation to the spiritual abstraction of 'race';

¹⁵⁵ Fichte, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁵⁶ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁷ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

If our race terminates with you, our honor is turned to shame and our wisdom to folly. [...] spirit alone, absolute, and stripped of all sensuous impulses, is to take the helm of human affairs. Our blood impulses, is to take the helm of human affairs. [...] by installing this spirit into the world-dominion destined for him.¹⁵⁸

The natural law of the primal national existence is superceded by the notion of blood-race. In spite of his penchant for the primordial, he discounts the utopian currants that associated themselves with the 'state of nature' found in the new world. "Do we, then, now know any such people, like to the aborigines of the New World, of whom similar expectations may be entertained?"¹⁵⁹

Although Fichte tends not to make a distinction between Society and the Nation (thus excluding national minorities), it is of interest to note the precision with which Fichte marks the conception of Society as a "natural totality, interpenetrated by itself, in the eternal world [...] the national character of a people"¹⁶⁰ which he conceives of as a "Higher culture [...] the result of the reciprocity of the citizens of all German states".¹⁶¹ The Nation per se takes the place of the Nation-State itself.

The reciprocal conception of his nation-society falters through the lack of inclusion of those national minorities present and constituted as collectivities themselves, thus leading to a paralysis in the nature of intra-societal relations. The national collective finds its stability and perpetuity in so

¹⁵⁸ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁵⁹ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁶⁰ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁶¹ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

far as it may establish reciprocal relations with those other collectivities with which it is obliged to enter into mutual relations. The degree to which the intra-societal interface is resolved in a reciprocal manner, due to the interpenetration of the constituents concerned, is an indication of how inter-nationals relations may be organized. The expectation engendered by his reference to reciprocity leads one to a logical inference that, if relations within the national collective are to be accomplished in a reciprocal manner, then it follows that the same methodology would apply for other entities as well, whether internal or external.

Fichte's elaboration of the formation of the collectivity is a welcome precision even though it is limited to the national collective itself and to one Nation in particular. It is evident that social cohesion and its perpetuity are formed in the national social-dynamic, rather than through the intervention of State law (as in Liberal theory). Further still, the stability of inter-nationals relations may be considered in the context of the reciprocal methodology that is prescribed for the national entity itself, rather than in the nature of State engineered treaties based in the ephemeral balance of forces which inevitably succumb to objective reevaluation.

In so far as the stability of inter-nationals relations is concerned, the problem remains of how to accomplish the transition from the reciprocal relations among individuals into the reciprocal relations between social collectives, and among national collectivities. The collective may not be reduced to the objective status of an individual, as does Fichte, because of the obvious defects indicated above, but it may be appreciated that the social dialectic with which we are concerned here is noted for its dynamic tendency towards social cohesion, thus giving rise to a social consciousness. Being more elaborate than the 'general will' of Rousseau, which tends to be employed as

if homogenization of individuality is an accomplished fact, the consciousness of oneself in the national and the social context presents an additional facet for the individual character. Rather than cultivating the isolation of individualism, singularity is superceded by the social and national being.

The problem that must remain a concern is the propensity on the part of existing national political cultures to sacrifice the 'sensuous' for the 'spiritual' as does Fichte, so abstracting the Nation into a self-aggrandizing myth.

The motley and confused intermingling of sensuous and of spiritual impulses is wholly to be deposed from its world-dominion; and spirit alone, absolute, and stripped of all sensuous impulses, is to take the helm of human affairs.¹⁶²

The transition from "rude physical power"¹⁶³ as Fichte puts it, to reciprocal inter-nationals relations has eluded human culture in spite of its self-proclaimed modernity. The perception of the sensual existence of other social entities, as well as one's own independent existence, is based in the autonomy each provides for 'the other' in the process of mutual aid, thus magnifying the human potential of each, rather than diminishing and debasing the freedoms sought in the first place. Without the recognition that the dynamic equilibrium found in national culture is to be propagated elsewhere, social existence is reduced to the law of the "unit"¹⁶⁴, or of that "individuality"¹⁶⁵ in the form of the Nation, and by consequence finds its expression as being represented by

¹⁶² Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁶³ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁴ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁶⁵ Fichte, *op. cit.*, citation # 84, p. 74.

the State which shares the same attributes, in spite of Fichte's intentions.

1.2.4.3 Treitschke and Kant

Although Fichte extolled the Nation above the State in distinction from Hegel, Heinrich von Treitschke confounds Fichte's Nation into the modern Nation-State formation. Nonetheless Treitschke continues from Fichte to attack "that formalist doctrine of the state"¹⁶⁶ by which he means the constitutional republic of France. Treitschke's critique of the State is only meant to elevate the Nation into its primal position, so dominating the *raison d'être* of their particular State formation.

Luther first smashed to atoms the dictum behind which the Romanists entrench themselves; he denied that 'spiritual power is higher, than temporal power', and taught that the State is itself ordained of God, and that it is justified in fulfilling, and indeed pledged to fulfil, the moral purposes of its existence independently of the Church. The State thus declared to be of age; and as it really attained its majority, and as the temporal power everywhere received firm support from the growing self-realization of the nations, this political emancipation had almost a mightier and a more far-reaching influence than the reformation of the Church. All rulers, without exception, whether Catholic or Protestant, repudiated the political suzerainty of the Crowned priest.

[...] Bodinius originated the idea of the sovereignty

¹⁶⁶ Heinrich von Treitschke, 'Harbingers of a New Age : Radicalism and the Jews' (IV, 531-32, 553-68), *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 249-267, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975, p. 252.

of the State.¹⁶⁷

In his attack on the German Jewish intellectuals he associated the Jewish radicals' preference for constitutional France with a characteristic Jewish 'cosmopolitan'. This stereotype is epitomized by the "intellectual father of this hybrid Judaico-German literature [...] Ludwig Börne of Frankfort"¹⁶⁸ who stands accused of having "abandoned himself to empty praises of anarchy, the mother of freedom" as well writing disparaging remarks on German popular culture. His characterization of "These Jews without a country, vaunting themselves as a nation within the nation" is indicative of Treitschke's conception of German society as one integral Nation and consequently, a uniform State. His association of Nation with State led him to consider that each Nation existed separately from one another in their own State.

This people without a state, widely scattered throughout the world, adopting the tongues and the customs of other nations while still clinging to its own isolation, lived in perpetual contradiction, which might appear either tragical or comical according to the observer's standpoint. To the nimble Jewish wit, the ludicrous contrast between oriental nature and occidental form was necessarily apparent.¹⁶⁹

Besides reversing Form and Content, as was the habit, he nonetheless affirms the existence of Nation apart from the State.

Whereas the previous treatments in German political theory made

¹⁶⁷ Heinrich Von Treitschke, 'Luther and the German Nation' (A Lecture given at Darmstadt on Nov. 7, 1883), pp. 223-255, *Germany, France, Russia and Islam*, London, Jarrold & Sons, 1915, p. 240.

¹⁶⁸ Treitschke, *Radicalism and the Jews*, op. cit., pp. 254, 256.

¹⁶⁹ Treitschke, *Radicalism and the Jews*, op. cit., p. 254.

allusions to the Nation, the work of Immanuel Kant of Koenigsberg (1724-1804) provides a systematic elaboration of constitutional law as it pertains to both the Nation and the State, as we have seen.

The forms of a state may be divided, either according to the persons who enjoy the sovereign power, or according to the mode of administration exercised by the chief, under whatever title, over a people. The first is called 'form of sovereignty' ('forma imperii') [...]

The second is the 'form of government' ('forma regiminis'); this is the constitutional mode, according to which the general will of the people has decided that its power shall be exercised [...] ¹⁷⁰

The distinction to be made between 'sovereignty' and 'government' is found in the differentiation between the State and Civil Society ('pactum sociale') with its civil constitution. This distinction may be expressed in the manner where the sovereign exercises power over the People as opposed to the People exercising its control over the sovereign. Evidently these two relations are opposed to one other. As in the discussion concerning the civic conception of the Nation (section 1.3), the 'general will' of the people is expressed as the institutions of that Civil Society given form by the Nation (though the Nation is not necessarily exclusive). The Kantian conception of the Nation relies upon both Herder and Hegel to present an identity between a Nation and its State but not in jurisdiction over another Nation. The relation between Nations rests autonomous without forming a universal State.

SECOND DEFINITIVE ARTICLE FOR A PERPETUAL PEACE

The public right ought to be founded upon a federation of free

¹⁷⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, New York, Columbia University Press, (1796) 1939, pp. 14-15, and *Kant's Political Writings*, 'Perpetual Peace', Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1970) 1979, pp. 100-101.

states.

Nations, as states, like individuals, if they live in a state of nature and without laws, by their vicinity alone commit an act of lesion. One may, in order to secure its own safety, require of another to establish within it a constitution which should guarantee to all their rights. This would be a federation of nations, without the people however forming one and the same state, the idea of a state supposing the relation of a sovereign to the people, of a superior to his inferior. Now several nations, united into one state, would no longer form but one; which contradicts the supposition, the question here being of the reciprocal rights of nations, inasmuch as they compose a multitude of different states, which ought not to be incorporated into one and the same state.¹⁷¹

Despite the distinction being made between the Nation and the State here, their association is still treated as if they were an identity, as in the Hegelian sense and in accordance with the nature of the State itself. Evidently a concept of Civil Society is lacking.

Kant's "free federation, this supplement of the social compact"¹⁷²₄₅ while based in Rousseau, goes beyond the State towards the 'Federation', as in Proudhon. However the relation between State and Nation remains obscure, as in the description of his treatment of the governing structures. According to the editor Hans Reiss;

Unfortunately he does not always appear to use his terms consistently. Indeed, he makes the distinction only in later writings, such as *Perpetual Peace* and *The Theory of Public Right*. Even then, when he speaks of the ruler, he sometimes appears to mean the sovereign legislative assembly, but at other times he appears to mean the

¹⁷¹ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 18 and *op. cit.*, *Kant's Political Writings*, p. 102.

¹⁷² Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 22 and *op. cit.*, *Kant's Political Writings*, p. 104.

executive of the government, which on other occasions again is described merely as an organ of the legislative.¹⁷³

This 'melange' of the institutions of the State and Civil Society has serious consequences for the independence of the citizenry which is the third principle of Kant's civil state.¹⁷⁴ This independence ('subisufficiencia' or 'Selbständigkeit') is at the core of the grand discussion for social cohesion and liberty, as the collective independence or self-standing of Society is dependent on its distinction from the State.

Kant's concludes in his *Theory and Practice*;

Thus the actual principle of being content with majority decisions must be accepted unanimously and embodied in a contract; and this itself must be the ultimate basis on which a civil constitution is established.

'Conclusion'

This, then, is an original contract by means of which a civil and thus completely lawful constitution and commonwealth can alone be established. But we need by no means assume that this contract ('contractus originarius' or 'pactum sociale'), based on a coalition of the wills of all private individuals in a nation to form a common, public will for the purposes of rightful legislation, actually exists as a fact, for it cannot possibly be so. Such an assumption would mean that we would first have to prove from history that some nation, whose rights and obligations have been passed down to us, did in fact perform such an act, and handed down some authentic record or legal instrument, orally or in writing, before we could regard ourselves as bound by a pre-existing civil constitution.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Kant's Political Writings*, 'Introduction', p. 29.

¹⁷⁴ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Kant's Political Writings and Theory and Practice*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁵ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Kant's Political Writings and Theory and Practice*, p. 79.

The unanimity required to establish the decision-making apparatus enshrined in the civil constitution is found in the nature of the national-culture which provides the social will to coalesce into a nation, and subsequently into a Society. Obviously a common language (or languages) aids in such a process, but language is not in itself indicative of the Nation's culture nor is it sufficient reason for a social process to reach fruition, and so is not a defining imperative of a nation. It is not sufficient to seek the basis of Civil Society in its legal expressions or works, since the will to have formulated such a social conception is based in the consciousness of the Nation which has expressed its need for such a 'pactum sociale'.

The Nation as conceived here by Kant in terms of an economic class presents a contradiction. He requires a criterion which favours the propertied classes, as in;

The only qualification required by a citizen (apart, of course, from being an adult male) is that he must be his 'own master' ('sui iuris'), and must have some 'property' (which can include any skill, trade, fine art or science) to support himself. In cases where he must earn his living from others, he must earn it only by 'selling' that which is his,* and not allowing others to make use of him; for he must in the true sense of the word *serve* no-one but the commonwealth.

* He who does a piece of work ('opus') can sell it to someone else, just as if it were his own property. But guaranteeing one's labour ('praestatio operae') is not the same as selling a commodity. The domestic servant, the shop assistant, the labourer, or even the barber, are merely labourers ('operarii'), not 'artists' ('artifices', in the wider sense) or members of the state, and are thus unqualified to be

citizens.¹⁷⁶

Yet, while he defines the Nation in terms of certain classes and only one gender, he proceeds to denounce the very constituency that he has selected in his conception of 'commonwealth';

Whereas political moralists, who, by questioning the faculty of human nature to obey moral reason, favour state maxims contrary to right, and in reality strive to render all reform impossible, and to perpetuate the violation of right.

So far from possessing this practical science which they boast of, these expert politicians have only the cunning of business; solely occupied in flattering the ruling power, because, their personal interest is benefited by it; they sacrifice the nation, and would (if they were able) subvert the whole world. This is what happened to all layers by profession, who are not occupied in legislation.¹⁷⁷

Although the State is formed by economic criteria that are feudal or bourgeois, Society is conceived of as a more elaborated than in the Statist economic criterion. Kant points out that, "It is necessary then that a cause of union assemble the individual wills of all, for there to be a general will."¹⁷⁸

In general it is necessary and possible to differentiate between the Nation (in the sense of a People) and the State because of the continuing presence of Civil Society as exemplified in the 'general will'. The impact of this proposition is evident in the writings of many if not most political theorists and can be observed in historical documentation such as was formulated during the French Revolution; "[...] the Declaration of Independence in 1776 speaks

¹⁷⁶ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Kant's Political Writings and Theory and Practice*, p. 78.

¹⁷⁷ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 46-47.

¹⁷⁸ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 43.

only of 'the people', while the word 'nation' makes its debut only in the Constitution of 1789."¹⁷⁹₄₆

This is evident as well in the references to the Islamic 'Ummah' (in the sense of Civil Society) and to the 'Kalifah' which refers to the State as the Ottoman Empire.

Thus, seizing the state does not solve the problems of the Muslims, as used to imagine some of the bearers of the old discourse. The heart of the matter is the necessity of besieging the state and trimming its nails so as for the Ummah to restore its vicegerent role. Hence is the interest in the notion of the Ummah in lieu of the idea of the state, and hence is the increasing critique of the idea of the central state and the increasing attention to the civil society and to the role of the Awqaf (endowment).¹⁸⁰₄₇

Language, being the concretization of thought, makes itself legitimate by the contextual meaning that is perceived by a consensus of opinion among its practitioners. This practice, is itself a test of the concept carried in a language, giving the conceptual differentiations above their credibility.⁴⁸

1.2.4.4 Marxist Treatments of Nation

In Horace B. Davis' *Nationalism and Socialism*, a dichotomy is made between community and State along the lines that; "Nationalism means devotion to the interests of a particular community, whereas patriotism may

¹⁷⁹ B. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁸⁰ Abdelwahab El-Messiri, 'Features of the New Islamic Discourse', #23, *Ash-Shar'iyah As-Siyasiyah Fil-Islam, Masadiruha wa-Dawabituha*.

mean that or devotion to the interests of a particular state.”¹⁸¹

While Davis generally obscures the terms nationalism, patriotism and national-identity, he treats the various national struggles and their political movements as integral to the communities in their Society, rather than the State nonetheless. While his counter-position of nationalism and patriotism refers to this basic difference in orientation, it is not sufficient to leave nationalism as a solely community attribute apart from patriotism since the terms are used interchangeably, denoting a certain hierarchy corresponding to order or class

Hisham Sharabi, addresses this differentiation defining,

PATRIOTISM, ‘wataniyyah’, derives from watan and should not be confused with ‘qawmiyyah’ (nationalism), derived from ‘qawm’ (people or national community). Patriotism applies within a state’s boundaries, whereas nationalism applies to a community that often transcends the confines of a state. [...] ‘Wataniyyah’ usually stands for local nationalism (e.g., Egyptian or Algerian nationalism) as against regional (e.g., Fertile Crescent, Maghribi, or pan-Arab) nationalism.¹⁸²

The community is set aside from the State, as in ‘qawm’. The sense of national community referred to here lends itself to the concept of national-identity rather than nationalism which is associated regularly with the state. The term nationalism comes into use when the term patriotism had become discredited,

¹⁸¹ Horace B. Davis, *Nationalism and Socialism : Marxist and Labour Theories of Nationalism to 1917*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1973 (1967), p. x.

¹⁸² Hisham B. Sharabi, *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World : (The Middle East and North Africa)*, D. Van Nostrand Co., inc., Princeton, N.J., 1966, p. 95.

although it is used to refer to the same institution. Fichte (p. I-76) uses patriotism in the sense of nationalist ideology when the term nationalism was not available.

Ascribing an attribute of communality to nationalism corresponds to Hans Kohn's form of inclusive nationalism. Nationalism cannot be two sets of attributes (inclusive and exclusive) while remaining the same coherent concept.

Nationalism is essentially the expression of this perversion of the state into an instrument of the nation and the identification of the citizen with the member of the nation.¹⁸³

In the same vein as Hobsbawm, Davis endorses the Hegelian view that the State is the mature expression of the Nation and essential to its preservation by virtue of the 'melange' he makes of national-identity and the state. "But in every people there is the urge to form a state and maintain itself as a state."¹⁸⁴_{(1) 49}

While acknowledging the autonomous existence of the Nation as a People, such a Marxist position originates in Engels',

appropriation of Hegel's notion of 'peoples without history'. For Hegel,

World history [...] was a dialectic of the spirit of peoples contributing to the realization of reason and freedom. But freedom and reason are embodied in the state. It follows then that the most progressive

¹⁸³ Hannah Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

¹⁸⁴ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

peoples are those capable of state-building – for the state expresses the people's will to survive. Conversely, peoples without states cannot contribute to the development of civilization; and they would soon cease to be peoples [...] [I]f a people has proved itself incapable of building a state over the ours of time, it will never be able to build one (Smith, 1971: 72).

Engels would lift this teleological conception of the viability of nations and national movements virtually intact from Hegel, and it would become the cornerstone of his treatment of the national question.¹⁸⁵

Davis points out it was common practice for the Marxist theoreticians to adopt the Hegelian mode, and Engels in particular began early in 1840-41 to advocate war with France to regain the left bank of the Rhine, as well as incorporating Holland and Belgium, on behalf of a German State.¹⁸⁶ The ethnocentrism of Marx and Engel led them naturally to Hegel rather than Proudhon, even though that Statism originated outside of the historical current of socialist thought.

Despite their early Hegelianism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in their collection of essays *The German Ideology* treated the State as a,

'substitute for community' or as an 'illusory community' (15) [...] A true community (Gemeinschaft) can be realized only when classes have been abolished and the state as such has disappeared. Along with classes will disappear other sub-groups such as nationalities;

The communist revolution [...] abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves, because

¹⁸⁵ Purvis, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁸⁶ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

it is carried through by the class which no longer counts as a class in society...and is in itself the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc., within present society. (16*)¹⁸⁷₅₀

Evidently the consequences of the identification made between the State and Nation leads to the dissolution of subordinate Nations alongside the dissolution of the State, while recognizing that the State does not represent community.⁵¹ As for the existing Nation-States, they were more tolerant and proposed,

The brotherhood of nations under the flag of 'modern democracy' as it originated in the French Revolution and has developed in French communism and English Chartism, shows that the masses and their defenders know better what the score is than does German theory . [...] (32)¹⁸⁸₅₂

Even further,

With special reference to Poland, Engels wrote to Kautsky on February 7, 1882;

It is historically impossible for a large people to discuss seriously any internal questions as long as its national independence is lacking. [...] An international movement of the proletariat is in general only possible between independent nations. [...] To get rid of national oppression is the basic condition of all healthy and free development. ...

It is not our job to hold back the Poles from efforts to win the conditions of their future development, or to tell them that from the international standpoint their national independence is an entirely secondary matter, when it is on the contrary the condition of all

¹⁸⁷ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 5-6.

¹⁸⁸ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

international collaboration.(34*)¹⁸⁹₅₃

The nature of this endorsement of Polish independence is ambivalent. As Davis points out, Marx and Engels reverted to what he considers a stagist theory of historical development after the decline of the revolutionary wave of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871. Stagism is a methodology where a given underdeveloped nation is obliged to proceed through a period of capitalist development as a State in order to develop the potential for a socialist revolutionary transformation. Thus an appreciation was lacking for the combined nature of national and class emancipation in the theory and programme initially presented by Marx and subsequently the Marxist current.

With respect to national minorities, Davis mentions that;

Engels at one time had a brief period of belief in the rights of small nationalities, but Marx was never interested in the principle of self-determination as such, (30) and Engels eventually favored stronger countries against weaker in a positively breathtaking manner.¹⁹⁰

The young Marx's *On the Jewish Question*¹⁹¹ considers that the onus of responsibility for equality rests upon the Jewish communities, as if they refused the opportunity of assimilation to a social hierarchy that was itself responsible for the segregation. Such segregation being enforced by the Jewish ghetto experience in Eastern Europe and the social alienation in Western Europe.

¹⁸⁹ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 17-18, 217.

¹⁹⁰ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁹¹ L. D. Easton & K. H. Guddat (eds.), 'On the Jewish Question', p. 216 - 248, *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, NY, 1967.

The road to full emancipation must lead back to man himself - not as an isolated individual, but as a social being. This theoretical framework led him [Bruno Bauer] to conclude that although the Jews were fully entitled to demand civil equality as a human right, without renouncing their Judaism, they could only become full human beings by working for general human emancipation.¹⁹²

This prescription has no consideration left for the Jewish people as a collective entity, a nationality. Marx's and Bruno Bauer's deference to enlightened Universalism places the responsibility for social isolation upon the People themselves, who are thus seemingly obliged to abandon their national-identity to become full members of civil society, a task ordinarily impossible. It seems that social emancipation was considered primarily a matter of self-will by his historical method. This led Marx to continue that a quintessential Jewish nature of bourgeois corruption requires self-emancipation, as he puts it, and that furthermore, civil society requires "emancipation from Judaism"¹⁹³; a lamentable formulation that has not been discounted in the ideology of Marxism.

Even Hegel saw through the condition imposed upon the Jewish People, « Hegel ajoute que la séparation reprochée aux Juifs serait « un opprobre pour l'État qui les aurait exclus ». »¹⁹⁴ Marx's Universalism did not recognize the social-emancipation of the Jewish people as a need. Such a methodology has been subsequently extrapolated to include not only other national formations, but other social formations as well, such as the women, public sector workers, students, and the unempowered generations of society. Marx's ideology and the ideology of Marxism postulate the universal class of

¹⁹² R. S. Wistrich, 'Karl Marx and the Jewish Question', p. 53 - 60, *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, Volume 4, #1, 1974, p. 54.

¹⁹³ R. S. Wistrich, *Idem.*, p. 57.

¹⁹⁴ Hentsch & Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

the industrial proletariat as the sole revolutionary agency. This has led to the proletariat's role as the vanguard class in Leninist organizational theory. Social formations other than the proletariat are thus considered either socially liberated or obliged to adopt a proletarian social-character or orientation in order to achieve their emancipation. Oppression is solely a matter of economics in that deterministic methodology, even though class oppression is postulated as being rooted in social control.

Similarly, with respect to the Jewish experience in the United States of America, Marx's expectation of a linear development towards the cosmopolitan cultural life of the German Jewish intelligentsia seemed to place the responsibility for the ghettoised Jewish existence in Eastern Europe upon an undeveloped Jewish traditional lifestyle seeking to maintain itself in backward isolation. National oppression did not have a specific conceptual reality for Marx and this lack of perspective was reflected in his world view when he projected a socialist United State of Europe and the U.S.A. dominating the "underdeveloped" world.¹⁹⁵ Marx's lack of insight did not even penetrate into the latent racism given expression by the hierarchical tendency in German nationalism to which he himself contributed. On July 20, 1870 (one year before the Paris Commune), Karl Marx wrote to Frederick Engels;

The French need a thrashing. If the Prussians are victorious the centralisation of state power will be helpful for the centralisation of the German working class; furthermore, German predominance will shift the centre of gravity of West European labour movements from France to Germany. And one has but to compare the movement from 1866 to today to see that the German working class is in theory and organisations superior to the French. Its domination over the French on the world stage would mean likewise the dominance of our

¹⁹⁵ Hentsch & Piotte, *op. cit.*, note #16, pp. 44-45.

theory over that of Proudhon, etc.¹⁹⁶₅₄

By this manner Marx himself succumbed to a state nationalism he would claim to denounce as a bourgeois phenomenon.

In deference to Marxism, Ber Borochov a left-Zionist, developed a sophisticated analysis of the distinction between the relations of production and the conditions of production, the latter term defined as the nature of the social order. The latter, 'conditions of production', provided for the phenomenon of national oppression. Borochov's orientation to Statism though resulted in a nationalist theory of class alignment with which he concluded;

It sometimes happens that the interests of the individuals of various classes in a nation, under abnormal condition of production, are in reality harmonious in some respect.¹⁹⁷

In spite of this stagiist methodology, his analysis continues by recognizing the strategic significance of national interests. The manipulation under such a proposed alignment of classes serves to either trivialize the national struggle or to subsume such interests into a statist power led by the bourgeois centre, as in the particular example of the Jewish nation at this time. The emphasis upon the proletariat as the universal class of emancipation in Marxist theory falters before the struggle for national emancipation and dissolves into a subservient alignment corresponding to a bourgeois stage of development.

Alongside the general Marxist prophecy that the solution to national

¹⁹⁶ Rudolf Rocker, 'Marx and Anarchism', pp. 75-93, *The Poverty of Statism : Anarchism vs Marxism; A Debate Bukharin, Fabbri, Rocker*, Cienfuegos Press (Haymarket Press), Orkney, UK, Mineapolis, USA, 1981.

¹⁹⁷ Ber Borochov, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

questions are resolved by the emancipation of the working class - as the universal class, this is disputed by Moses Hess who reverses that doctrine to propose his own dictum ,

though Hess was an authoritative exponent of socialism, a friend of Marx and Engels, the 'Rabbi Moses of the Communists' - [he believed] to the effect that 'the entire history up to our day has gone through a struggle of races and a struggle of classes. The struggle of races is the primary phenomenon.' (4)¹⁹⁸₅₅

Rather than make a fetish of the working class, Hess made a fetish of 'race' as nationality.⁵⁶ The contrast between the two serves to highlight the limitations of each as formalism. Each of these ideological constructions is a consequence of the false dichotomy made between the concepts of 'Class' and 'Nation', a consequence of the manner in which Nation was being defined, as if it pertains to the bourgeois State.

1.2.5 Ideological Anarchism

In the analysis of the State one may consider the works of anarchist thinkers who offer their critique of that institution. However, the appreciation of the Nation as being a distinct formation independent of the State finds little resonance amongst the current anarchist debates which adopt a Universalist Marxist method. This Anarchist tendency of thought conforms to the collection of radical-liberal political tendencies. The theory of Anarchism is perceived as an ideology adopting the Universalist criterion as methodology in its analysis of society, whether it uses class or individuality as autonomous

¹⁹⁸ Joseph Nedava, *Ibid.*, 'Introduction', p. 8.

social units, while dissolving the national identity of a People.

Certainly all this requires not only the negation of a mechanistic materialism which, in our opinion, is the result of Marxism, but also a certain idealism which, still in our opinion, comes to infect a part of anarchism. In the same way, universalism intended as an absolute value is ahistorical and idealised, because such illuministic postulating is nothing other than the inverted ideal of reformed Christianity.¹⁹⁹

Recent Jewish American anarchist thinkers such as Murray Bouchkin, and Freddy Perlman likewise have chosen an assimilationist perspective. The common problem here being the lack of differentiation between the Nation and the State that it is claimed, represents that Nation; in this case the Jewish People. A lack that corresponds in effect to the Zionist proposition.

Current anarchist materials predominantly tend to adopt the stereotypic sterile analysis of the concept of the Nation-State, and of national-culture itself. The typical orientation to class in place of the national commune is presented here;

La culture est une production de la vie sociale et naît des échanges et des communications entre individus et groupes d'individus. Les cultures, qui sont donc multiples et également relatives aux classes sociales, ne peuvent être définies dans des quadrillages artificiels, frontaliers, ou cataloguées par le biais de critères réducteurs comme la langue, les religions, les coutumes.

La « Nation » est une construction imaginaire de caractère politique et idéologique. Le concept de nation est l'un des moyens utilisés par les Etats et les bourgeoisies pour faire accepter un

¹⁹⁹ Alfredo M. Bonanno, *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*, London, Elephant Editions, 1990, p. 19.

consensus minimum aux classes sociales exploitées. Il permet ainsi au nom d'une entité personnelle et concrètement indéfinissable, la « collectivité nationale » (substituée au Dieu de l'Ancien Régime), d'asseoir la légitimité de l'Autorité gouvernementale qui exerce le pouvoir au nom de la « souveraineté du peuple », le « corps de la Nation ».²⁰⁰

While empirical to the extreme, this view of the State is demarcated from culture. The collectivity is seen as based upon the individual and their class position. Culture is equally assigned to social classes but not to groups with cultural origins. The presuppositions imbedded here are that the identity of the national collective implies the parallel recognition of the State, by virtue of the formalist definition of Nation. By virtue of the State's proclamation as the exclusive agent of the Nation, the anarchist critique in rejection of the Nation is accepted by default without any further consideration, by virtue of a deference to the State's identification with the Nation as in nationalist ideology⁵⁷.

Furthermore, this deference presents the confusion as to the characteristics of the Nation and the State, without considering the multiplicity of national cultures to be found integral to any Society. The remainder of the objections to the 'collectivité nationale' are based in the view that traditional heritages in their various manifestations may have a social priority, but one less significant than the common class cultures found in society. Such a proposition, doubtful even in its inception, serves to reinforce the class divisions of the dominant national class without identifying the class dynamics of each national-culture. On this very question Rudolph Rocker is cited here in an opposing viewpoint to the standard interpretation; to the effect that a People has a distinct definition;

²⁰⁰ Ris-Orangis, « Motion sur les nationalisme », *Le Monde Libératoire*, No 960, 1994.

Contre l'artificialité de la nation inséparable de l'Etat, il définit le peuple comme « le résultant naturel d'une union sociale, d'une association mutuelle d'hommes réunis par une certaine similitude de conditions externes de vie, une langue commune et par des caractéristiques particulières dues au climat et à l'environnement géographique » (3) [...] La culture est entendue ici comme étant ce que l'homme a délibérément élaboré pour maîtriser son environnement.⁵⁸²⁰¹

Elsewhere Rocker tends to counterpoise the concept of the People to the Nation, in the Statist sense, although it is still possible to progress with him to the degree that social liberation is seen to be rooted in the consciousness of the need for national liberation;

La force de l'anarchisme, sa difficulté aussi c'est qu'il essaie de réduire la tension entre individu et société de manière non autoritaire, notamment par la libre association et le fédéralisme. Mais c'est bien par ce que les individus réalisent que l'oppression qu'ils subissent est collective et non individuelle, que les révoltes et donc les révolutions deviennent possibles. Prôner la prise de conscience et le combat individuel est nécessaire mais insuffisant. Que devient alors le combat pour la libération de sa classe, de son sexe? Que devient alors le combat pour la libération de son peuple? Il s'agit bien là en effet de se libérer d'une oppression spécifique; une ouvrière irlandaise de Belfast au chômage ne trouve pas de travail non pas parce qu'elle est ouvrière ou même femme, mais parce qu'elle est irlandaise « de souche » et non descendante de colons britanniques comme l'ouvrière (protestante) qui sera embauchée à sa place! Ce n'est pas en tant qu'individu mais en tant que membre d'une communauté qu'elle est exclue.

C'est donc bien parce que l'oppression culturelle, oppression

²⁰¹ Groupe Ubu - Paris, « Anarchisme et luttes de libération », *Le Monde Libertaire*, No 892, 1992.

que l'Etat exerce par son appétit de centralisation et de domination, existe réellement et produit de telles discriminations que les anarchistes doivent la combattre.²⁰²

Evidently there is some discussion that promises to open the sealed box of ideological anarchism.⁵⁹

As Bakunin wrote; 'Every people, however small they are, possess their own character, their own particular way of living, speaking, feeling, thinking and working, and this character, its specific mode of existence, is precisely the basis of their nationality. It is the result of the whole of the historical life and all the conditions of that people's environment, a purely natural and spontaneous phenomenon.'

[...] Every people, like every person, is involuntarily that which it is and therefore has a right to be itself. Therein consists the so-called national rights.²⁰³

Noam Chomsky's *Peace in the Middle East?*²⁰⁴, and in his previous work on 'federalist binationalism' makes the necessary distinction between the constituent nationalities of the civil society and so proposes a federal constitutional arrangement, as in Kropotkin's federation of free peoples. Nonetheless this approach leaves aside the Inter-Nationals context of the issue apart from the question of the State, and defers, in effect, to the Zionist movement - as if that ideology alone represented Jewish national aspirations world-wide if such aspirations are to be taken into consideration. The Jewish people who do not reside within the State of Israel, being a majority of the Jewish People, are not given due consideration although Chomsky himself is one such person.

²⁰² Groupe Ubu - Paris, *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Bonanno, *op cit.*, pp. 8,20.

²⁰⁴ Noam Chomsky, *Peace in the Middle East?*, New York, Pantheon Books.

The lack of recognition offered the Jewish Nation apart from the State of Israel is subject to a definition of the Jewish People that rejects national identity for the Jewish People. As such, proposals for a solution to Palestinian identity caught in the contradiction of Jewish national aspirations are appropriate, but are however limited to the region, so putting aside major historical tendencies which have impinged upon the current conflict, in particular for the Jewish people concerned, a sector that is key to the solution.

1.3 The Liberal Democratic State

The Liberal theory of social management assumes the perpetuation of social contradictions and seeks to limit or restrict their effects by legal mechanisms designed by the political authority and carried out by the judicial apparatus, thus defending the liberal principle of limitations.

The Liberal social theory is further constrained by the legal definition of a social entity being based upon the individual, and the reproductive body being solely the family as headed by the male individual⁶⁰. That individual, 'the head of the household', is a vestige of the propertied and patriarchal definition of the legal person (citizen) that excluded women, servants, slaves, and foreigners. This conception of equality by the criterion of individuality or citizenship is maintained in opposition to the collectivity of nationality. The abstract individual within the general will is placed in opposition to the particular collectivity, and collective rights are negated by the priority placed upon the individual rights by virtue of the universal commonality of the State-citizen. Collective national rights are consequently in contradiction to the State, as has been revealed in the Canadian context where Québec is recognized as a province only. The recognition of nationalities other than the

officially recognized State nation is thus treated as if it were illegal and subversive, even though there may be two official languages corresponding to two distinct nations. In effect language is artificially dissociated by the State from the national culture from which it arose and grafted onto the hierarchy.

Collective rights are interpreted according to ideology, Stuart Rush comments on their constitutional application in Canada;

There are two ways in which collective rights can be perceived constitutionally. First, collective rights are those rights which accrue to individuals because of their placement or membership in an identifiable group. In this sense, the realisation of the rights for each individual depends on its realisation for everyone in the group. These are the rights of cultural communities, ethnic and minority groups. They include the working people of Canada. These rights are rooted in history and represent a benefit or protection to the group as a whole. These would include: the right to employment; the rights of ethnic minorities to use their languages and to practise certain traditions; and the right to participate in government. Second, collective rights are also rights which accrue to groups as groups. These include: the right of Indian people to title to and jurisdiction over their aboriginal land; and the right of women to affirmative action programmes in the workplace. Group rights, which insure the protection of a group, as a group, ought to have been provided for in the Constitution [of 1982].²⁰⁵

The limitations imposed by the liberal State are coached in the context of a morality proclaimed by a Theocracy. Alternatively, a collective autonomy of the various social formations in society could cooperate according to a methodology based in a Principle of Reciprocity. In place of the rule of Law,

²⁰⁵ Stewart Rush, 'Collective Rights and Collective Process : Missing Ingredients in the Canadian Constitution', *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes : A Canadian Annual*, no.2, 1984, p. 1-2.

operating on behalf of the State and its agents, there the cultural attributes of mutuality nurtured in civil jurisprudence may exist, as in the right to a jury of the public presently.

In liberal theory the reliance upon the individual theoretically seeks the utmost in personal liberty but fails to recognize the context in which the individual finds themselves, whether that is a class context, a national identity or a particular gender. Rousseau was himself conscious of these factors;

Every political society is composed of other smaller societies of different kinds, each of which has its interests and its rules of conduct; but those societies which everybody perceives, because they have an external and authorized form, are not the only ones that actually exist in the State; all individuals who are united by a common interest compose as many others, either transitory or permanent, whose influence is none the less real because it is less apparent, and the proper observation of whose various relations is the true knowledge of public morals and manners. The influence of all these tacit or formal associations causes, by the influence of their will, as many different modifications of the public will. The will of these particular societies has always two relations; for the members of the association, it is a general will; for the great society, it is a particular will; and it is often right with regard to the first object, and wrong as to the second. An individual may be a devout priest, a brave soldier, or a zealous senator, and yet a bad citizen. A particular resolution may be advantageous to the smaller community, but pernicious to the greater. It is true that, particular societies always being subordinate to those that contain them, the latter should be obeyed rather than the former; the duty of a citizen takes precedence of that of a senator, and a man's duty of that of a citizen; but unhappily personal interest is always found in inverse ratio to duty, and increases in proportion as association grows narrower, and the engagement less sacred; which irrefragably proves that the most general will is always the most just

also, and that the voice of the people is in fact the voice of G~d.²⁰⁶

Rousseau's version of pluralism is a hierarchically biased version based on the individualist criterion for civil society which creates a tension between the personal particular interests of aggrandisement and the social will. While arguably so, the same conclusion may equally apply to any definable general will as well, since there is always a greater body politic to which the individual may be assigned. Even if the limits of the State define the citizen, nonetheless there is no other criterion provided in liberal theory than the magnitude of the State which confers an absolute seniority to the greater social unit. Thus the larger State would seem to have the greater right in respect to other States as well. This infernal logic then leads us to extrapolate that dynamic to the imperial imperative. The subjugation of national minorities corresponds then to an internal empire, so to speak.

Kant touched upon this paradox in his discussion of civil society. First of all he refers to the contract as the basis of society;

Among all the contracts by which a large group of men unites to form a society ('pactum sociale'), the contract establishing a 'civil constitution' ('pactum unionis civilis') is of an exceptional nature. [...] it is essentially different from all others in the principle of its constitution ('constitutionis civilis'). [...] a union as an end in itself which they all 'ought to share' and which is thus an absolute and primary duty in all external relationships whatsoever among human beings [...], is only found in a society in so far as it constitutes a civil state, i.e. a commonwealth.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Rousseau, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

²⁰⁷ Immanuel Kant, 'On the Common Saying: 'This May Be True in Theory, But It Does Not Apply in Practice'', II p. 61-92, *Kant's Political Writings*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 73.

The conjunction of society and state is apparent in that conception although the method of civil contract is nonetheless applied by Kant to the international context without resorting to the formation of an international state. This, of course, introduces a contradiction into the international system of relations between states which by their own sovereign definition cannot be held subject to any other state. As Kant puts it;

Peoples who have grouped themselves into nation states may be judged in the same way as individual men living in a state of nature, independent of external laws; for they are a standing offence to one another by the very fact that they are neighbours. Each nation, for the sake of its own security, can and ought to demand of the others that they should enter along with it into a constitution, similar to the civil one, within which the rights of each could be secured. This would mean establishing a federation of peoples. But a federation of this sort would not be the same thing as an international state. For the idea of an international state is contradictory since every state involves a relationship between a superior (the legislator) and an inferior (the people obeying the laws), whereas a number of nations forming one state would constitute a single nation. And this contradicts our initial assumption, as we are here considering the right of nations in relation to one another in so far as they are a group of separate states which are not to be welded together as a unit.²⁰⁸

In addition, the prospect of an international 'federation of Peoples' leads one to suspect that the same federal conception may be applied in any other social context as well. If the federation of peoples is conceivable on the international scale, then it follows that it should be possible to formulate a civil constitution without the benefit of the State. It follows as well that it would not be probable for a 'federation of Peoples' to be formed out of a collection of nation-states

²⁰⁸ Kant, 'Perpetual Peace : A Philosophical Sketch', p. 93-130, *Kant's Political Writings*, op. cit., p. 102.

which exist in contradiction to the principle of federation. Kant is obliged to conclude that, "Thus politics and morality can only be in agreement within a federal union, which is therefore necessary and given 'a priori' through the principles of right."²⁰⁹

The contradiction that prevails between and among sovereign states and which thus prevents the successful formulation of a pacific alliance ('*foedus pacificum*') is based in the legal theory of the state itself, known generally as '*raison d'État*'.

The theory of the act of state is based on the argument that one sovereign state may not sit in judgement upon another, '*par in parem non habet jurisdictionem*'. ...

Perhaps we can approach somewhat closer to the matter if we realize that back of the concept of act of state stands the theory of '*raison d'État*'. According to that theory, the actions of the state, which is responsible for the life of the country and thus also for the laws obtaining in it, are not subject to the same rules as the acts of the citizens of the country. Just as the rule of law, although devised to eliminate violence and the war of all against all, always stands in need of the instruments of violence in order to assure its own existence, so a government may find itself compelled to commit actions that are generally regarded as crimes in order to assure its own survival and the survival of lawfulness. Wars are frequently justified on these grounds [...]

'*Raison d'État*' appeals - rightly or wrongly, as the case may be - to necessity, and the state crimes committed in its name (which are fully criminal in terms of the dominant legal system of the country where they occur) are considered emergency measures, concessions made to the stringencies of '*Realpolitik*', in order to preserve power and thus assure the continuance of the existing legal order as a whole. In a normal political and legal system, such crimes

²⁰⁹ Kant, *Ibid.*, p. 129.

occur as an exception to the rule and are not subject to legal penalty (are 'gerichtsfrei', as German legal theory expresses it) because the existence of the state itself is at stake, and no outside political entity has the right to deny a state its existence or prescribe how it is to preserve it. [...] what is the nature of the sovereignty of such an entity? Has it not violated the parity ('par in parem non habet jurisdictionem') which international law accords it? Does the "par in parem" signify no more than the paraphernalia of sovereignty?²¹⁰

To postulate the voluntary submission of even a portion of state sovereignty by a number of differing states is problematic, and if promulgated it is inevitably subject to revocation by any simple act of state sovereignty.⁶¹

At the very least then, the theory of the liberal democratic state is limited to certain ideal conditions of a submissive civil society, without an external threat. That such conditions are neither guaranteed nor even common is the crux of the problem which liberal theory cannot overcome other than abandoning its democratic principle.

1.3.1 Unanimity and Majoritarianism

The references concluding the section 1.2 on Civil Society and the State, considered the formation of the United States of America while excluding the African-American nationality from Civil Society. The formation of Civil Society presumes the reciprocal relations of the particular social formations to be found amongst the population concerned and is sharply distinguished from the democratic will of the majority.

²¹⁰ Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem : A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Penguin Books, (1963) 1983, Postscript, p. 290-291.

As in the Hobbesian paradigm of the dictatorship of the majority, Majoritarianism is merely war by other means. This then is the democracy of party politics, where the winners of elaborately staged political contestations represent the liberal proposal for the limitation of the Hobbesian war of each against all. The State then intervenes to prevent civil war between unresolved parties generated by this process. Thus minorities are left to seek out concessions from various strategic interests who would make mutual overtures to unite their efforts by forging a tactical plurality of the minorities themselves in the electoral contests, or form a collaborationist alliance with the stronger party to defeat their common opposition. Even then particular interests with a greater social or economic power command greater concessions, thus leading to ever narrower sectors of society being represented by the power in place.

So proceeds the degeneration from the general will, to the majority will, to plurality or oligarchy.

Abiding by majority rule is considered an obligatory democratic value, based in the belief that in the absence of such a commitment, lies 'anarchy'. Accordingly, national minorities are thus obliged to submit to the authority of their numerical superiors for the sake of the stability of the State and its associated nation ⁶². Naturally it has been the operative majority or the most powerful particular interest who have defined the nature of that society and thus it orders the minority into submission - a process otherwise known as assimilation. The State may even be a colonial extension of a majoritarian imperial centre, so placing the indigenous population into a context that subordinates them for ideological purposes, though they otherwise comprise the overwhelming majority. The nature of Majoritarianism consequently apparently becomes so distended as to evaporate into the fiction of the ether.

Minority representation is crucial not only for minority nationalities, but all social minorities and minority conditions. The representation of minoritarian conditions is crucial, as such concerns exist among all individuals comprising the whole of the Society and not only a minority segment constituted as a social formation. Clearly, particular concerns cannot become a majoritarian phenomenon instantaneously, and certain concerns are limited in scope by gender, age or region, et cetera and yet, all individuals may be touched by such concerns irrespective of whether they are held by the majority at any particular time and place. In this sense then it is individual rights that are contained within the concepts of collective rights and reciprocal consent.

Unanimity has been proposed as an alternative to Majoritarianism. This process of consensus is achieved through reciprocal thought and action. This consensus is rooted in the national-cultural autonomy of distinct social entities who have been willing and able to elaborate a communications system of sufficient sophistication so as to govern their own affairs. The process that is unanimity reflects the distinct cultural characteristics that are national consciousness. This is not meant to imply that such uniqueness is demarcated from other cultures in absolute terms, since similarities by reason of consciousness, territory, objectives and economy may lead to federal arrangements that seek to establish treaties of cooperation in any definable domain. Such an idea was indeed the motivation behind Proudhon's *The Principle of Federation* in the previous century. 'Consociationalism', as referred to by Yussuf Kly (elaborated on in "Auto-Determination and Self-Determination" of Chapter II) and Riggs ⁶³, is one such constitutional arrangement that takes the problems discussed above into consideration.

The contention between unanimity and Majoritarianism is crucial to the nature of the Civil Society and the State, since any civil constitution must be

based in principle on unanimous consent in order to be engaged. Kant puts forward both as complementary,

Those who possess this right to vote must agree unanimously to the law of public justice, or else a legal contention would arise between those who agree and those who disagree, and it would require yet another higher legal principle to resolve it. An entire people cannot, however, be expected to reach unanimity, but only to show a majority of votes [...]. Thus the actual principle of being content with majority decisions must be accepted unanimously and embodied in a contract; and this itself must be the ultimate basis on which a civil constitution is established.²¹¹

In order to fulfil the preconditions for a civil society it would be necessary to consult all its members including the autonomous social formations that live therein. However, if national minorities are represented as well, the nation-state is no longer conceivable as a consequence. In fact no State would be possible within the necessary prerequisites of natural right.

The legislative power can belong only to the united will of the people. For since all right is supposed to emanate from this power, the laws it gives must be absolutely 'incapable' of doing anyone an injustice. Now if someone makes dispositions for another person, it is always possible that he may thereby do him an injustice, although this is never possible in the case of decisions he makes for himself (for 'volenti no fit iniuria'). (7) Thus only the unanimous and combined will of everyone whereby each decides the same for all and all decide the same for each - in other words, the general united will of the

²¹¹ Kant, *op. cit.*, 'On the Common Saying : 'This May Be True in Theory, Bit It Does Not Apply in Practice' ', pp. 78-79, *Kant's Political Writings*, II, pp. 61-92.

people - can legislate.²¹²

Majoritarianism though is more so a characteristic, and the operating mechanism, of the State itself, a factor which leaves national minorities in perpetual subservience. As Kant presents the matter,

Democracy is necessarily despotism, as it establishes an executive power contrary to the general will; all being able to decide against one whose opinion may differ; the will of all is therefore not that of all: which is contradictory and opposite to liberty.²¹³

The currently popular form of State rule, Democracy, is not what it seems because of the dependence upon the State, rather than Civil Society. In the case of inter-war Germany the democratic will of the population, including the working class, was made to elect a dictator named Hitler as Chancellor of the State, once he had been appointed by the head of State. That was a point of no return, no re-consideration, and no exit from the prospect of war, because of the constraints imposed by the State. It is the State that is despotism rather than the democratic majority, as Hobbes proposed. The effect of Majoritarianism is contextual and its consequences go beyond its technical utility.

It is rather common for the democracies of this age to exist without a constitutional context - some examples are Canada (where the 1982 constitution lacks unanimity since it was not adopted by Québec), Great Britain, and the State of Israel. The Zionist State, considered the only democracy in the Middle East in the occidental political culture has denied the vote to more than three million of its territorial inhabitants because they derive

²¹² Kant, 'The Metaphysics of Morals', p. 131-176, *Kant's Political Writings*, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²¹³ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 15.

from the indigenous nationality of Palestinians, not to mention the five million currently maintained as refugees. No doubt this disenfranchised population consider Israeli democracy equivalent to tyranny, rather than the 'common idea' of "the only democracy".

1.4 Inter-Nationals Relations

It follows from the differentiation of State and Society that a parallel may be made between 'relations internationales' (superstructure) and 'rapports internationaux' (infrastructure)²¹⁴, where the latter refers to « la société civile mondiale », ²¹⁵

Sur ce point précisément, Gramsci insiste sur ce qui lie le niveau intra-national au niveau international, sur l'action de l'un sur l'autre, alors que son analyse subordonne les rapports sociaux internationaux à ce qu'il nomme les rapports sociaux fondamentaux.²¹⁶

As a result we are obliged to differentiate State from Society, distinguishing between relations Inter-Nationally between Nations and/or Societies (Intra-National), and the international relations between existing State structures. Evidently, the 'State' is a conception and realization of a particular current of thought in a particular age, and more than likely in a particular group of the Inter-Nationals communities - Europe.

The familiar categorization elaborated by Gramsci is repeated here,

²¹⁴ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²¹⁵ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²¹⁶ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

whereby,

For some social groups which [...] have not had a long independent period of cultural and moral development on their own [...], a period of statolatry is necessary and indeed opportune.²¹⁷

For Nations who have not asserted their 'national-popular collective will', Statism projects that a stage of historical development is a necessary precondition for the development of a conscious 'civil society'. This stagist theory of historical periodisation justifies the role of the State during the Bolshevik State's existence and in other cases, has been used to justify the role of the imperial State in establishing an empire over societies which were deemed to be underdeveloped. Underdevelopment, as a phenomenon associated with elitist domination, "was made possible in medieval society and under the absolute regimes by the juridical existence of the privileged estates or orders"²¹⁸. The combined nature of the transformation from underdevelopment to autonomous civil society, as from elitist domination to the body politic in its relation to the State, is what escapes Gramsci and many other political orientations to the nature of the Nation. Such a process cannot be explained by a linear stagiest paradigm governed by some abstract historical law.

In conclusion this opening to a discussion on Civil Society reveals the immensity of the matter, one that goes beyond this preliminary analysis. Insofar as this work is concerned, it is sufficient to note the presence of Civil Societies found in underdeveloped economies, as well as among the nationalities which have not established a State structure, but which exist

²¹⁷ Forgacs (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 238.

²¹⁸ Forgacs (ed.), *Id.*, p. 238.

nonetheless as National formations.

1.4.1 The Federal Principle

A kernel of thought which became a principle for Proudhon is found in Kant's 'Second Definitive Article For A Perpetual Peace';

Nations, as states, like individuals, if they live in a state of nature and without laws, by their vicinity alone commit an act of lesion. One may, in order to secure its own safety, require of another to establish within it a constitution which should guarantee to all their rights. This would be a federation of nations, without the people however forming one and the same state, the idea of a state supposing the relation of a sovereign to the people, of a superior to his inferior.²¹⁹

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was concerned with the mutualist political current when he proposed a form of society that rejected the centralized State in favour of federal relations among the constituents of a country. In writing to the editor of the journal *L'Impartial* he insisted;

Why should we not invite the population to make themselves capable of managing their own affairs and of preparing the way for a confederation of peoples? Let them see, through instruction, science, moral health and patriotism, how to dispense with all ministerial and constitutional hierarchy, while in the meantime profiting from the little good it will do them.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²²⁰ Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon : A Biography*, Montreal, New York, Black Rose Books, 1987, p. 21.

Proudhon's biographer George Woodcock further explains this conception,

Thus the nation itself will be a confederation of regions, and Europe a confederation of confederations in which the interest of the smallest province will have as much expression as that of the largest, since all affairs will be settled by mutual agreement, contract and arbitration.²²¹

The concept of Confederation is obviously different from its current usage in Canada and should rather mean the mutual relations of autonomous social formations. The mechanism of decision-making follows in the same vein by means of the proposal for a process of unanimity that would be operational by the indicated mechanisms of mutuality. Such political means can be augmented for example, by the procedures followed in the 'Iroquois Confederation' decision-making process which also is based upon a form of unanimity. This particular constitutional methodology has been in effect since 1390 and is annexed here.

The compatibility of the Federal Principle and national formations is also alluded to above by Proudhon, based as it is upon the differentiation between the Society and the State, despite the deficiencies of anarchist ideology with respect to the nation.

In contrast, Reg Whitaker mentions the Federal Principle in his presentation of state federalism that interprets the matter as a government of governments. Concerning Canada and Québec, he concludes with an appreciation of the *Constitution Act of 1982* as "a reasonable compromise

²²¹ Woodcock, *Ibid.*, p. 249.

between a number of conflicting pressures".²²² Collective Rights as a Nation are absent from that analysis of the superstructure.

Taking into consideration Ber Borochov's differentiation between 'the relations of production' and 'the conditions of production', it makes it possible to associate national cultures with 'rapports internationaux' rather than with 'relations internationales', in a socio-economic context. In an extrapolation to the global context there is a parallel distinction to be made between the relationships among the national-cultures and the relations within the international superstructure of States. The convergence of various perspectives based upon the fundamental distinction between the Form of society and the Content of structural existence is made in this global context;

on trouvera donc une sorte de synthèse sélective des approches critiques des 'rapports internationaux' et, subsidiairement, des 'relations internationales'. Voilà peut-être une distinction qui étonnera. [...] Selon notre terminologie, les « rapports internationaux » renvoient essentiellement à la sphère économique et sociale du système mondial, alors que l'expression « relations internationales », utilisée dans son sens le plus courant, s'applique plus précisément au niveau politique et militaire.²²³

In the global context Basil Davidson writes of "new containers for national cultures [...] some rational federalism [...] a future of organic unities of sensible associations",²²⁴ although the mechanism remains confused. In the 'inter-nationals' context Herder put it this way,

²²² Reg Whitaker, 'Democracy, Federalism and the National Political Communities in Canada', *Socialist Studies / Études Socialistes : A Canadian Annual*, No. 2, 1984, p. 11

²²³ Hentsch et Pottle, *op. cit.*, Avant-propos, p. 8.

²²⁴ Pierre Beaudet, 'Imagined Communities and New Nationalisms', pp. 9-10 & 38-39, Montréal, *Montréal Serai*, Vol. 8, No. 1 & 2, Spring-Summer 1994.

As reason increases, the object of navigation will proportionably turn from conquest to trade; which is founded on reciprocal justice and courtesy, on a progressive emulation to excel in arts and industry, in short on humanity and its eternal laws.²²⁵

Proudhon had already presented the conception of national autonomy within a federal compact;

Even Europe would be too large to form a single confederation; it could form only a confederation of confederations. [...] Thus each nationality would recover its liberty, and a European balance of power would be achieved - an idea foreseen by all the political theorists and statesmen, but impossible to realize among great powers with unitary constitutions.²²⁶

In conclusion Proudhon projected the formula for civil societies and the global civil society by way of the principle of federation;

Only under these conditions could philosophy make its case, could the Revolution reach fruition, and, with the diffusion of the idea, could the universal republic leave the realm of mysticism and take the concrete form of a federation of federations.²²⁷

In this way, the national revolution is superceded by the Permanent Revolution inter-nationally. If there is a global civil society, its formation is still in the process of development and remains embryonic. The attempts at

²²⁵ Herder, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²²⁶ Proudhon, *op. cit.*, *The Principle of Federation*, p. 53.

²²⁷ Proudhon, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

forming a "pacific alliance ('foedus pacificum')",²²⁸ have been pursued in the League of Nations and subsequently in the generalized United Nations Organization, although only mutually recognized states were granted full membership. The projection of this idea is found since Kant's 1796 formulation, "It can be proved, that the idea of a federation, which should insensibly extend to all states, and thus lead them to a perpetual peace, may be realized".²²⁹

Despite the confusion between 'states' and 'nations', the principle of a global civil society has presented itself prior to the many devastating wars that have followed since. The reason that the concept has not been fully implemented is that each country has not yet found its way to affirming its own civil society let alone that of the world. The "society of nations ('civitas gentium')"²³⁰ remains a projection which is substituted for by the 'pax americana' of a state that presumes itself to be the enlightened 'Republic' around which all others would find peace, 'deja vu' as the Napoleonic empire. There exists a basic contradiction between the prevalent composition of the various societies into States and the need for a permanent global non-aggression treaty for peace. The superstructure of the State recognizes no other authority but itself and is thus incapable of submitting itself to any permanent arrangement such as a "cosmopolit constitution".²³¹

However the credibility of social relations inter-nationally based in the interactions among civil societies is nevertheless postulated in numerous

²²⁸ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 21.

²²⁹ Kant, *Id.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 21.

²³⁰ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 23.

²³¹ Kant, *op. cit.*, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 25.

instances and contexts.

1.4.2 Iroquois Confederation

The *Kaianere'ko:wa*, or *The Law of the Great Peace/The Great Law* is the traditionalist code of Society already operational before the influx of Europeans to this continent. The utopian conceptions such as More's *Utopia* coincided with the European discovery of North America. That constitutional law unified the five founding nations in northeast North America to become the *HAUDENOSAUNEE* or *The People of the Long House : Iroquois*. This initial united nations has also been called the *League of the Five*, or the *Iroquois Confederation*.⁶⁴ It is this treaty that contributed to the elaboration of the constitution of the United States of America and the Confederation of Canada, and may represent the oldest constitution still applied in the world.²³²

This *Great Binding Law*²³³ was initially elaborated with the formation of the League of the Five Nations about the year 1390. This social constitution was transmitted in the inscriptions of the Wampum belts - coded beads forming symbolic designs - held by the women chiefs, and coded strings for particular laws or paragraphs, in addition to oral memory recitations, until it was printed in more recent times. This assembly of the various Peoples' representatives was in effect an ancient parliament that sat in discussion of any issue serious enough to warrant the calling together of the delegates.

²³² eibie / Abraham Weizfeld, 'Native People's Law Code', p. 374-375, *Reader's Digest Legal Problem Solver*, Nelson Brott, (ed.), Montreal, The Reader's Digest Association (Canada) Ltd., 1994.

²³³ 'Kaianere'ko:wa : La "Grand Bien" ', *Pleine Terre*, Vol. I No. 1, Solstice d'été, Montréal, 1992.

According to the Iroquois Book of the Great Law, the confederate Council was to consist of fifty rodiyaners (civil chiefs) and was to be divided into three bodies: that is, the older brothers; Mohawk and the Seneca, the younger brothers; Cayuga and the Oneida, and, the fire keepers; Onondaga. Each brotherhood debated a question separately and reported to the fire keepers, who referred the matter back and ordered a unanimous report. If the two brotherhoods still disagreed, the fire keepers had the final decision. If, however, the brotherhoods agreed and their decision was not in accord with the wishes of the fire keepers, the fire keepers could only confirm the decision, for unanimity was the law required for the passage of any question. Similarly, the Council chooses to convene to consider any particular question presented to it, acting in effect as a Supreme Court as well. All the work of the Council was done without an executive, that is, without a head of State or government such as a president or prime minister. These fifty civil chiefs were nominated by certain noble women who carried a hereditary title in their family, so elaborating a matrilineal society recognized officially as an electoral college; nominations were confirmed by popular councils of both men and women, and then finally by the confederate Council. Women had not only the great power to nominate the rulers, but also the power to depose them for incompetence. Here we find the right of popular nomination, recall and of women's suffrage.²³⁴

It is noteworthy that there is no mention of private property in the traditional documentation. Land is considered to be a 'given', that is, existing in itself and not conferring special privileges upon a particular individual. Territory held in common is inherent in the conception of a People or nation,

²³⁴ A.C. Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations or The Iroquois Book of the Great Law*, Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada, Iroqrafts Ltd., (1916) 1984.

such as the Mohawk. The idea of property in land is absent, and land itself is thus treated as existing in the public domain, open to use but not to property.²³⁵

In a parallel fashion, we may remind ourselves that land came to be considered a common national resource during the course of the English revolution, when Crown Lands became Common Land in the manner of a territorial nationalization.

The Inter-Nationals perspective in this context means the territorial integrity of the Native Peoples' Nations by the recognition of autonomous Nations in poly-national society based on reciprocal relations, as in the theory of Federation. It is notably that the Canadian State together with the Québec and British Columbia provinces have recognized the principle of indigenous collective rights in the current process of negotiating land claims treaties. Nonetheless with the purpose of maintaining a hegemony over the Native People's lands found within the limits of the State, the Dominion of Canada and its provinces insist upon the ownership of subterranean resources, as well as the water flowing through it, while the exploitation of which is only compensated by royalty commissions.

1.4.3 National Conceptions of the XXth Century

The war of nations is treated here as if it were the problematic Gordian knot, defying all to resolve its internal meanderings, and giving the appearance of material reality. It has been the nature of countries to perpetuate national

²³⁵ 'Kaianere'ko:wa : Le 'Grand Bien' ', *Id.*

conflicts resulting in a psychological climate of acquiescence that has lessened the resolve to decipher the apparent contradictions involved, and so creating the conditions for their replication; together with the complicity of its participants. No doubt the topic of political culture has a well-deserved reputation for being a swamp of speculation, however, its unresolved nature poses a problem that is just as pressing as the related need to resolve the increasing number of social conflicts arising with the Fragmentation process appearing throughout the world.

In the manner of Herder, Sigmund Freud pronounced national identity as being the,

'emotional powers all the stronger the less they could be expressed in words, as well as the dear consciousness of an inner identity, the familiarity of the same psychological structure.' (7) He also referred to Jewishness as 'that miraculous thing in common, which [is] inaccessible to any analysis so far.'²³⁶₆₅

With the founding of the United Nations Organization, the notion of a 'People' was recognized rhetorically in its preamble to the Charter. Following this tentative approach the two international Pacts adopted in 1966 concerned with economic, social and cultural rights, mention the 'people' as the titular of collective rights.

Le concept de « peuple » a été très utile pour l'approfondissement de la notion de « droits de l'homme ». Il aide à situer ceux-ci dans une dimension collective et à découvrir une perception moins individualiste, moins subjectiviste, des droits fondamentaux. Toutefois, aussi longtemps que la technique juridique restera dominée par l'individualisme subjectiviste de la doctrine

²³⁶ Joseph Nedava, *op.cit.*, 'Introduction', p. 11.

occidentale née au 19^{ième} siècle, aussi bien dans l'ordre international que dans les ordres juridiques internes, seuls les États et leurs sujets seront investis des moyens d'action qui constituent « la personnalité juridique ». La notion de peuple a une fonction idéologique d'explicitation, de soutien, parfois aussi d'occultation, sans qu'on puisse lui reconnaître les traits d'un concept juridique opératoire.²³⁷

This proclamation was derived from the much earlier French Declaration of Rights of 1795, a proposal on behalf of all Peoples, which presents the matter as;

Each people is independent and sovereign, whatever the number of individuals who compose it and the extent of the territory it occupies. This sovereignty is inalienable.²³⁸

Much has been accomplished since, in terms of the recognition of the collective entity of a People as a Nation, although the Jewish People per se, the Palestinians and the Québécois (Kébékois)⁶⁶ have yet to enjoy the recognition attained by the other Nations.⁶⁷

Hobsbawm's perspective would not offer much sustenance to such a People. The inclination to observe and describe the equation of 'nation = state = people' as in the thought of John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty and*

²³⁷ François Rigaux, « La notion de « Peuple » en droit international », pp. 173-184, *Palestine : Colloque de Bruxelles*, 13-15-mai 1976, Alger, Belgique, Duculot-S.N.E.D., 1977, p. 179.

²³⁸ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780 : Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 19.

*Representative Government*²³⁹ and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*²⁴⁰ remains dominant. Accordingly, Hobsbawm exhibits the Occidental perspective on the Nation in the objective sense, but seeks a deeper understanding by analysing it from below as well.²⁴¹ In considering nationalism as being fundamental to the Nation, he places the emphasis on the subjective, even though he objects to that methodology. Coincidentally, Hans Kohn points to "the comparative irrelevance of objective criteria for the formation and continued existence of separate nationalities".²⁴² Nonetheless, Kohn also defers to the State as the ultimate expression of the Nation; "Nationalism demands the nation-state"²⁴³ as the logical conjunctural conclusion derived from an historical perspective. This is why he preserves his conception of 'inclusive nationalism', in order to make room for the State, in effect; in his case the Zionist State in particular.

The difficulties of providing an analysis of national political culture may lead the reader to consider the approach herein faulty due to a lack of strictly objective criteria, as in a reductionist method. While it is conceivable that a tautology is constructed here by means of the previous deductive argumentation - as if the statement that a nation is a nation is all that remains - at the very least this analysis may be perceived to have begun with the position that, the claim to national identity should be taken seriously and examined in its own right. After all, if the concept of Nation is perceived as a tautological proposition, it is not sufficient reason to refuse the concept, it is rather a

²³⁹ Hobsbawm, *Ibid.*, p. 359-66, London, Everyman edition, 1910, p. 19.

²⁴⁰ Hobsbawm, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁴¹ Hobsbawm, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁴² Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁴³ Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

reason to make such research precise and productive.

Hobsbawm, in reference to this point refers to as the 'subjective', asserting that,

defining a nation by its members' consciousness of belonging to it is tautological and provides only an 'a posteriori' guide to what a nation is. Moreover, it can lead the incautious into extremes of voluntarism which suggests that all that is needed to be or to create or recreate a nation is the will to be one...²⁴⁴

Considering that a collective consciousness conceiving of a national identity is somehow based in influences that go beyond a subjective methodology usually associated with an individual, we may proceed to reconcile the existence of such phenomena with our individual perceptions. In actuality this is precisely what Hobsbawm is obliged to do as well, stating as he does that,

Neither objective nor subjective definitions are thus satisfactory, and both are misleading [...] this book assumes no 'a priori' definition of what constitutes a nation. As an initial working assumption any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a 'nation', will be treated as such.²⁴⁵

It has been put very explicitly by J.G. Herder as, "For every distinct community is a 'nation', having its own national culture as it has its own language".²⁴⁶ The organically generated national consciousness is confirmed by the sense of common knowledge as a 'volonté générale' or, a 'general will'.

²⁴⁴ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780 : Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 7-8.

²⁴⁵ Hobsbawm, *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁴⁶ J.G. Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 284.

While not dismissing the possibility of false consciousness, in the affirmative expression of a collective identity it seems undeniable, unlike the perception of an external viewpoint, which may very well be self-centred and blind to the other's reality. The assertion that a given national consciousness is inappropriate because of preconceived criteria is no longer acceptable, especially since such criteria most likely correspond to the attributes of its corresponding contextual ethnocentric political culture.

1.4.4 II, III and IV Marxist Internationals

The intricate interplay of concepts obscures the actual subject matter of the Nation for any given writer, as well as the interpretations that have been made of the immense body of work concerning the national formation.

While it is generally considered that the Spartakusbund (The International Group of the German Social-Democratic Party) together with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht made a principle of opposition to nationalism as an ideology, we can nevertheless read in their Junius anti-war pamphlets, "The only defence of all truly national freedom is today the revolutionary class struggle against imperialism."²⁴⁷ Evidently they recognize national identity in spite of the formulations that were utilized at the time opposing nationalism as such.

An early affirmation of national identity was made with respect to the Jewish population by the Social Democrat Martov;

²⁴⁷ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

who formulated for the first time the idea of an independent Jewish workers' organization. This was incorporated in his 1895 May Day speech in Vilna. He said that the task of the Socialists who worked among Jews was 'to create a separate Jewish workers' organization which could lead and educate the Jewish proletariat in the struggle for its economic, social, and political emancipation. We can no longer expect, as before, that everything should come to us from the Russian proletariat.' (8)²⁴⁸₆₈

Y. Martov, whose original name was Tzederbaum, soon after changed his position and opposed the formation of the Jewish Bund in 1897. The nature of the Jewish People became an acid test for the various polemics of the Marxist Internationals, as well as for the status of national minorities in general.

The unsurpassed polemics on the 'national question' during the latter period of the Second International gave rise to the proposed reformulation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire by the Social-Democratic Party, in terms echoing the Jewish Bundist resolutions.

Otto Bauer and Karl Renner [...] these two socialist thinkers and theoreticians elaborated in great detail what came to be known as the Austrian Project, with a view to resolving the apparent contradictions between feelings of nationalism, with which the various racial minorities of the Habsburg Empire were imbued, and principles of proletarian consciousness. According to them, nations are indestructible and serve as the basis of the world structure. Nor is there any need to do away with nations. Moreover, any attempt to force on nationalities a common denominator, contrary to their temperament, would result in unnecessary tension. They believed that only the political aspect of nationalities should be neutralized; the linguistic and cultural aspects should be considered valuable assets and, as such, defended and cherished. Such a policy would divorce

²⁴⁸ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

nationality from territory and would avert all calamitous consequences of suppressed nationalism. Each nation would be 'treated not as territorial corporation but as a union of individuals.' (10)⁶⁹

The Austrian Project proposed a federal state in which each nationality would enjoy an autonomous status, based not on the principle of territoriality, but on a personal linguistic-cultural foundation. This principle, too, was first broached by the Bund. However, the irony of the matter was that Bauer (himself a Jew) was willing to accord nationality status to almost all racial minorities except the Jews.²⁴⁹

Bauer's concept of Nation was of further interest because he approached the differentiation between the Civil Society and the State ;

Bauer [...] made the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* which was implicit in Marx's discussion in *Zur Judenfrage*. The nationality was a *Gemeinschaft* (community); the political state on the other hand, and the trade union, the cooperative, the church, etc., were all types of *Gesellschaft*, or structured association. [...] (58)²⁵⁰₇₀

despite the analysis of Davis who preferred Stalin's definition.²⁵¹ "Bauer's definition of a nation was 'an aggregate of people bound into a community of character by a community of fate' ".²⁵²

²⁴⁹ Joseph Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁵⁰ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 159, 231.

²⁵¹ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

²⁵² Eric Lee, 'Socialism and the Jewish Revolution', Part 2, pp. 5-26, *The New International Review*, Volume Two, Number One, New York, Fist and Rose Publishers, Inc., 1978, p. 6.

The fourth conference of the Jewish Bund however, held in Bialystok in May 1901, adopted a resolution which did not hesitate; "The Conference further declares that the conception 'Nation' ['Nationalitaet'] is applicable also to the Jewish people.⁽¹¹⁾"²⁵³₇₁

It is notable that while the Ist Congress of the III Internationale did publish a letter of invitation to the Spartakusbund, no corresponding invitation was presented to " 'Der Allgemeiner Yiddisher Arbeter Bund in Rusland un Poyln' (The General Jewish Workers' Union (Federation/Alliance) in Russia and Poland), commonly referred to as the 'Jewish Bund'." ²⁵⁴, that is to say, an additional endorser of the Zimmerwald Anti-War Manifesto (also known as the '2½ International'). As such the 1903 exclusion of the Jewish autonomous Bund by the Russian Social Democratic Party was maintained.

The reasons why the Jewish Bund was excluded are rooted in the theories of national-identity which are divided by their definition of the Nation. As an example, Stalin and Lenin's well known and oft-quoted 'point' criteria was seemingly patterned to exclude the Jewish people as a Nation, deliberately seeking the formula to suit their intended conclusion. Consequently, the Bundist claim of a 1905 Bolshevik commitment for the recognition of the Jewish homeland in the Pale of Settlement was nullified.⁷²

As early as 1903 Lenin presented his view on the Jewish political culture as if it were representative of isolationism/separatism.

The Jewish question presents itself in the following way; assimilation

²⁵³ Joseph Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁵⁴ Benjy Gonshor, 'BUND... jewish Bund', p. 9, *In Montreal*, vol. 5, no.6, 1998.

or isolation? The idea of a Jewish nation is clearly a reactionary concept not only among its consistent partisans (Zionists), but also among those who try to reconcile it with social democracy (Bundist). The idea of a Jewish nation is in contradiction to the interests of the Jewish workers, for it creates among them directly or indirectly a spiritual mood hostile to assimilation – the mood of the ghetto.²⁵⁵₇₃

Western Marxists such as Karl Kautsky also argued that the Jewish community “cannot be a nation, for a nation is inconceivable without a territory”.²⁵⁶₇₄ Stalin’s *Marxism and the National Question* in 1913, also apposed the Jewish Bundist representation based on the proposition that the Jewish people are “a nation without a future and whose present existence [as a nation] is yet to be proven”.²⁵⁷ Those various formalist criteria amounted to one operative principle, “Thus, [according to Stalin - GS] a common economic life, economic cohesion, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.”⁽⁶⁾₇₅²⁵⁸ The economic system of capitalism was considered the unifying force for nation-building, and in effect the Nation was transformed into a bourgeois phenomenon, according to that tautological paradigm. This economic determinist model actually pertains to the State formation, having mistaken it for the Nation itself, due to that obscure conception of the Nation. This line of thought was carried into the Second Congress of the Communist International in the *Thèses et additions sur les questions nationale et coloniale* where its second thesis, second point refers to, “[...] la dissociation précise des intérêts des classes opprimées, des travailleurs, des exploités, par rapport à la conception générale des soi-disant intérêts

²⁵⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I p. 427.

²⁵⁶ Dubnow, *Id.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 427.

²⁵⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 427.

²⁵⁸ Gerry Sperling, ‘Prolegomena for a discussion of socialism and the National Question’, *Socialist Studies Conference*, Kingston, Ontario, University of Regina, June 1, 1991, p. 3.

nationaux, qui signifient en réalité ceux des classes dominantes”.²⁵⁹

This point of theory is applied in general, irrespective of the subordination of the oppressed, dependent and mandated nations by the financial and colonial powers. In the case of China, irrespective of whether the strategy of the International came to be considered one of class struggle or of national emancipation, the concept that the Nation is defined by the dominant class led to historic errors during the 1926-27 revolutionary wave in Canton and Shanghai. Because of the subordination imposed/adopted by the Communist Party to the KuoMinTang party of General Chiang Kai-Shek, the Party was decimated by the very ally it had adopted.²⁶⁰₇₆

Apart from the formalist criteria as to what constitute a Nation, the essential nature of nationality is that of a ‘People’ which has a sense of self-recognition, is the only fundamental criterion as has been indicated. Herder’s attitude was that, “A ‘Volk’ is virtually any group that has a name and a culture”.²⁶¹ Even,

Stalin realized that there was something intangible about nationhood, as well, something which he referred to as ‘national character’ in quotation marks and which he summed up as ‘ [...] a common psychological makeup’, which manifests itself in a common culture

²⁵⁹ L’Internationale Communiste, *Thèses, Manifestes et Résolutions adoptés par les Ier, Ier, IIe et IVe Congrès de l’Internationale Communiste (1919-1923) - Textes complets*, Paris, Bibliothèque Communiste, Librairie du Travail, , 1934, p. 57.

²⁶⁰ Leon Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, (1932) 1967.

²⁶¹ Frank E. Manuel, ‘Introduction’, *Reflections on The Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, by Johann Gottfried von Herder, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. xiv.

[...] (7)²⁶²

In reference to the point criteria of Stalin (and Lenin), Kohn makes the remarkable statement that,

Nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. A nationality generally has several of these attributes; very few have all of them. The most usual of them are common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions, and religion. A short discussion will suffice to show that none of them is essential to the existence or definition of nationality.²⁶³

In actuality, despite the theoretical rejection of a Jewish collectivity, the Communist Party government of the U.S.S.R. State did recognize the existence of the Jewish People by "the appointment of both a special Jewish deputy in the People's Commissariat of Nationalities (under Stalin) and the establishment of a Jewish section within the Communist party [Evseksia]".²⁶⁴ Dubnow also refers to the a Commissariat for Jewish National Affairs (EVKOM - Evreiskii Komisariat) established in January 1918 as a section of the People's Commissariat for National Affairs, of which Stalin was over-all commissar. It was projected that a Commissar for Jewish Affairs was to have been selected by local commissariats and Jewish sections affiliated to the local soviets but by mid-1918 these plans were cancelled with the effective dissolution of the soviets themselves. Nonetheless Jewish sections of the Communist Party were formed (Evseksiia) and functioned for twelve years

²⁶² Gerry Sperling, *op cit.*, p. 3.

²⁶³ Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 13-14.

²⁶⁴ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

until 1930 when they also were abolished.²⁶⁵ As the Nazi military advanced the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was formed, initially with the collaboration of the Bundist leaders, Henryk Erlich₇₈ and Victor Alter who were imprisoned, with Erlich executed thereafter.²⁶⁶

Another Marxist tendency of thought was expressed at the second congress of the Russian Social-Democratic party began on July 30, 1903. The delegates discussed the status of the Jewish Bund over four sessions during which Leon Trotsky spoke ten times. In his "Report of the Siberian Delegation" (22) he took up the organizational character of the Bund;

The sphere of the Bund's activity is characterized not by a statewide mark, but rather a national mark. "Bund - the organization of the 'Jewish' proletariat." [...] The class point of view is subordinated to the national one, the party is placed under the control of the Bund, the universal yields from the outset to the particular. [...] (23)²⁶⁷

In his autobiography, Trotsky (Lev Bronstein) mentions this personal dichotomy again;

The feeling of the supremacy of general over particular, of law over fact, of theory over personal experience, took root in my mind at an early age and gained increasing strength as the years advanced.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 428.

²⁶⁶ Dubnow, *Ibid.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 445.

²⁶⁷ Joseph Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁶⁸ Leon Trotsky (Lev Bronstein), *My Life*, New York, Pathfinder Press, , 1970, p. 87.

This methodological foundation was the basis of his personal Jewish psychology;

This national inequality probably was one of the underlying causes of my dissatisfaction with the existing order, but it was lost among all the other phases of social injustice. It never played a leading part - not even a recognized one - in the lists of my grievances.²⁶⁹

The formal logic of the nineteenth century scientific method leading to causal laws as a deductive conclusion serves to explain his treatment of the Nation as a concept.

Later, the feeling of the supremacy of the general over the particular became an integral part of my literary and political work. The dull empiricism, the unashamed, cringing worship of the fact which is so often only imaginary, and falsely interpreted at that, were odious to me. Beyond the facts, I looked for laws. Naturally, this led me more than once into hasty and incorrect generalizations, especially in my younger years [...] But in every sphere, barring none, I felt that I could move and act only when I held in my hand the thread of the general. The social-revolutionary radicalism which has become the permanent pivot for my whole inner life grew out of this intellectual enmity toward the striving for petty ends, toward out-and-out pragmatism, and toward all that is ideologically without form and theoretically ungeneralised.²⁷⁰

Nonetheless, moving beyond the formal Marxist law of class over nation he attempted;

to create a party or faction of his own, and, according to Medem,

²⁶⁹ Trotsky, *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁷⁰ Trotsky, *Ibid.*, p. 88.

soon after the 1903 congress he tried to make up with the Bund, hoping to get its support. (24)

When the Bund rejoined the Russian Social-Democrat party in 1906, Trotsky made an even more strenuous attempt to find a common language with the Jewish workers' organization. This was noticeable at the London Conference of 1907. He approached the Bund delegates about a proposal to set up a centrist bloc in the party, but this was without success. Ideologically, he was closer to the left wing of bolshevism, associated with Rosa Luxemburg; but in matters of organization he was closer to the Bund, and quite often voted with its delegates. For some time during that conference he sat on the Bundist benches, but as an individual delegate without any party label. (25)

When the Bund could not attend the meeting of the central bodies of the Russian Social-Democratic party in Paris, which was called for the summer of 1910 to choose delegates for the congress of the Internationale to be held in Copenhagen in October, it authorized Akselrod and Trotsky to act in its behalf. (26)²⁷¹₈₀

Following from the class categorical imperative that Trotsky had kept sacred, the European Marxist-trotskyist Maxime Rodinson, in his *Nation and Ideology*²⁷², presents his linear conception of *ethnic-national ideologies* tied together with state structures, so condemning him to believe that national identity was myth. His lack of distinction between ideology and political culture overlooks the deeply rooted way of life associated with a People's history that has formulated a way of thinking and a manner of expression - a consciousness. The collective consciousness of a People denies the supremacy of socioeconomic orientations that are often thought to be fundamental to all forms of consciousness, despite the long held proposition for the abolition of

²⁷¹ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

²⁷² Maxime Rodinson, *Cult, Ghetto, and State : The Persistence of the Jewish Question*, London, Al Saqi Books, 1983.

class stratification, as formulated in the theory of Marxist thought, to which Rodinson is indebted.²⁷³ Rodinson's criticism of national consciousness is based on the presumption that conflict is inevitably generated by this 'ideology', and its drive to construct a competitive State formation, precisely because of his materialist methodology.

In this work here, it is proposed that the identity of one's national-culture and/or society allows for the recognition of other such formations. Without such a mutual recognition human culture would have to reduce social existence to a Hobbesian nightmare of a war of each against all. This mutualism is then what comprises the concept of Inter-Nationals, as opposed to Universalism₈₁. Rodinson, having defined nationalism as ethnic-nation ideology, is obliged to define Zionism as Jewish national identity by corollary. Lenin seems to have inspired this direction by concluding that;

The concept of a Jewish nation, he argued, was 'unfortunately [...] a Zionist idea, essentially false and reactionary.' (5)

Lenin said he had learned about Jewish nationalism and Zionism from Karl Kautsky. Kautsky would not grant the Jews the status of nation on the grounds that they had no territory of their own.(6)₈₂²⁷⁴

This is, in effect, equivalent to the Zionist ideology itself that claims the mantle of the Jewish people as a whole on the basis of its territorial claim, and so usurps the right to represent the interests of an entire People.

²⁷³ Maxime Rodinson, 'Nation and Ideology from *What is Zionism?*', pp. 40-51, section III, 'A Marxist Position', *The End of Zionism and the liberation of the Jewish People*, eibie Weizfeld (ed.), Atlanta, Georgia, Clarity Press, 1989.

²⁷⁴ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

In consideration of the various debates on the Nation, it is evident that the obscurations of the concept are fashioned so as to be reconciled with the ideological predisposition of the writer. However the drift to an appreciation of 'the national question' gradually has come to recognize the sustained identity of nationality (national communities).

Nous avons constaté qu'à travers l'histoire de l'étude de la question nationale, chez les marxistes comme chez les non-marxistes, s'étaient peu à peu distinguées la question de l'État et celle de la nation comme groupes spécifique.²⁷⁵

Although such a distinction is recognized in one instance here by Bourque, there is still a general tendency to treat the nation as a bourgeois creation identified with the State, so tending to annul the Nation – containing a People – from consideration.

The prior discussion on the hierarchical notion of the Nation leads to an examination of its existence apart from that of the State apparatus that often encapsulates it. Kawczak treats the Nation as a specific entity apart from the State;

The concept of nation

What constitutes a nation? There are two ways to define the concept of nation. One is to identify as the people who live on a territory under the same supreme political authority. In other words, a nation is the population of a state. This definition emphasizes the political rather than the sociological aspect.

The other, more sociological way to define a nation is to identify it with what is meant by nationality. Usually, nationality is

²⁷⁵ Bourque, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

defined as an enduring community of people bound by common origin, fate, culture, language, territory and economic connections. All these bonds normally give rise to a consciousness of belonging together, of having a common "national identity". This feeling of national identity is sometimes so strong that a community may aspire to be considered a nation even if it is not politically organized as a separate and independent state.

From the stand point of nationalism the identification of nation with nationality seems to make more sense than the view that strictly binds the concept of nation to a state.²⁷⁶

While the nation is here described by an accumulation of characteristics, these need not be taken as obligatory. Kawczak's philosophical conceptualization is more to the point than the sociological references he makes, since the context to which he makes reference is the Polish political-culture.

The standard Marxist interpretation on 'the national question' falters on the proposition that the Nation is given expression solely by a State superstructure. Rodinson typically reflects this ideological orientation. Continuing discussions amongst the Trotskyist Fourth International factions had opened the concept of the nation to less formal interpretations.⁸³

The presumption of the nation-state identity in social methodology may be seen as an irrelevant identity in a territorialist framework in light of the national-cultural auto-determination promoted by Otto Bauer (the younger Bauer).

In the modern context, the status of the Jewish People remained

²⁷⁶ A. Kawczak, 'Nationalism, Mental Health and Human Development', pp. 231-253, *Mental Health in a Changing World*, Brunon Holyst (ed.), *The Polish Society for Mental Health*, Warsaw, 1990, pp. 236-7.

subordinate to the prevailing national culture and economy, sustained by its State. As Trotsky points out ;

Rumania as a whole manifests itself through its Jewish question [...] Anti-Semitism has established itself as a state religion – the last cementing factor of a feudal society rotten through and through. [...] Three hundred thousand Rumanian Jews are not recognized as Rumanian citizens. They, their fathers and their grandfathers, were born on Rumanian soil. They have never been, nor are they now, under the protection of any other state. Nevertheless, they are regarded as foreigners on Rumanian territory. Rumanian Jews benefit absolutely nothing from the protection of the constitution. [...] Even though they are excluded from citizenship, the government nevertheless imposes upon them the whole burden of obligations stemming from citizenship. Not only do Jews pay taxes, but they are also called upon to discharge a citizen's military duty; even though having a pronounced status of foreigners, they are obliged to serve in the Rumanian Army. [...] Rumania is ruled by Purishkevich [...] without Jews Purishkevich cannot manage, [...] He is in need of Jews, but which ones? – those without rights. [...] Such a Jew has to serve as middleman between Purishkevich's landowner and peasant, between Purishkevich's politician and his clientele – in the capacity of leaseholder, moneylender, middleman, hired journalist. [...] Moreover, while doing service for exploiting feudalism, the Jew, deprived of his rights, has to serve at the same time as lightning rod for the indignation of the exploited. [...] Driven out from the villages, the Jews constitute almost a third of the urban population of Rumania. [...] The lawyer, the government official, and the army officer are afraid lest, by getting equal rights, the Jews will rob them of their clients of offices. The teacher and the priest, the rural agents of the state idea based on national serfdom, keep repeating to the peasant that his misery and bondage originate with the Jews. The press, to the extent that it reaches the peasant, tells him the same thing. Anti-Semitism becomes a state religion, the last psychological cement of the thoroughly rotten feudal society, covered over with a

gold leaf – the strictly qualified constitution. (19)₈₄²⁷⁷

The superimposition of class upon nationality, or of nationality on the class position, as an Order, demonstrates the duality of the social significance between Class and Nation. The exclusivist conception of the Nation found in each class formation impels the proletariat itself to become chauvinistic toward any other nationality which is not integral to that nation-class, by its self-conception of the nation-state. Thus, a nationality such as the Jewish People who did not generally find the way open to integration into the social structure of whatever class it happened to encounter in society, finds itself excluded from the definition of the Nation by each class in its particular manner. It is notable that each class has expressed its 'dictatorship' in the form of the nation-state superstructure in this manner. As far as a minority nationality is concerned, the nation-state has represented a 'dictatorship' in whatever class content it cares to dress itself in. Imbued with the chauvinist image, the working class adopted a racist practice against the Jewish population, as well as other nations elsewhere. The Jewish People are – 'a priori' – excluded from the social structure and constitute a parallel society together with its own class differentiations, as its own social Order.

Trotsky imbibed his contempt for the petty bourgeois from Marx. (20) He often expressed the thought that Jews in Russia (and, indeed, elsewhere) cannot make good Bolsheviks. At the root of his bitter opposition to the Bund may have been his conviction that Jewish workers did not constitute a genuine proletariat. Their activity was confined to the Jewish artisans, who were to a certain extent exploiters themselves, being engaged in petty trade. No real class struggle could ever develop among Russian Jewry, for the class distinctions were largely overridden by the universal lack of the most

²⁷⁷ Joseph Nedeva, *Ibid.*, p. 79.

elementary rights. All Jews were discriminated against, thus forming a kind of racial lumpen proletariat; consequently, all attempts to stir up a class struggle among them were spurious. There certainly was a limited Jewish bourgeoisie, but in view of the general misery within the Pales of Settlement, the wealthy Jews did not form a *ruling* class against whom the suffering masses could poignantly aim their spearheads. (21)₈₅²⁷⁸

Irrespective of whichever class designation was applied to the Jewish nationality, since its class structure did not coincide with the general class structure, the Jewish People were denied the status of a Nation by Marxist theory to maintain the predominance of the proletarian struggle to that of the national struggle. The social revolution was thus exclusively conceived of in terms of economic determinism. Since class identity impinges upon national identity through the nation-state, it becomes a formal reduction to consider any other national entity as a competitor, as did the Social Democrats prior to and since the European World War I, so preparing for the general destruction of all working classes involved. As Rosa Luxemburg put it,

National states and nationalism are empty vessels into which each epoch and the class relations in each particular country pour their particular material content.²⁷⁹

In this manner, Luxemburg discounts Hegel who considered the national consciousness to be the 'Content' of the State 'Form'.⁸⁶ It is rather Class (as well as Gender or State) which provide Content to the Form of the Nation. Thus it is unnecessary to counterpoise the concept of Class to that of the Nation since they co-exist in society, in their respective contexts.

²⁷⁸ Nedava, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

²⁷⁹ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Marx's empirically concocted an image of Jewish Civil Society in the role of the Jewish bourgeoisie and so concluded that he saw a petit bourgeois nation. "Kautsky's thesis [was] that the Jews were a social caste"²⁸⁰ as is Avrum Leon's, a contemporary Trotskyist writer who uses the term "people-class".²⁸¹ In these instances, an Order itself is seen but without its national Form, even though national identity does not negate the class dynamics present and operating. This reification of Class, isolating this dynamic from other social dynamics, destroys the dialectical methodology and idealizes Class as the Form to all; the universal working class and/or the all-pervasive Bourgeois hegemony. What we have rather is a class dialectic together with its Form, with which it co-exists. To state that the Jewish People comprise a People-Class does not then mean in and of itself that it does not exist as a Nation. One does not negate the other. It wasn't necessary for Kautsky to refuse recognition of a Nation which he saw as a "social caste". This realization became apparent to Trotsky/Bronstein as the Nazi threat was allowed to coalesce into the Holocaust ('bellum internecinum'). Joseph Nedava puts it in his manner;

To do justice to Trotsky one should state that he would not admit to an ideological about-face but merely to the adoption of political expedience, a short-term panacea. He switched from acceptance of Kautsky's thesis that Jews were a social caste and was now ready to turn the 'Jewish' question into a 'national' question in a socialist world - but not as a long-range solution. This change came about when he realized that catastrophe was imminent for European Jewry. Since there wasn't enough time to bring about world

²⁸⁰ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

²⁸¹ Avrum Leon, *The Jewish Question*, New York, Pathfinder Press.

revolution, the Jews should be given a temporary national shelter.²⁸²

Not unlike the Marxists, Nedava isolated the Nation from Class. Without negating his Marxism, Trotsky went beyond himself by innovating the Permanent Revolution as it applies to the national struggle, as well as the class struggle. It is the 'inter-penetration' of Class and Nation that presents the need for a combined revolution in order to transform either given situation.

During my youth I rather leaned toward the prognosis that the Jews of different countries would be assimilated and that the Jewish question would thus disappear, as it were, automatically. The historical development of the last quarter of a century has not confirmed this view. Decaying capitalism has everywhere swung over to an intensified nationalism, one aspect of which is anti-Semitism. The Jewish question has loomed largest in the most highly developed capitalist country of Europe, Germany.

[...] 'The Jews of different countries', he said, 'have created their press and developed the Yiddish language as an instrument adapted to modern culture. One must therefore reckon with the fact that the Jewish nation will maintain itself for an entire epoch to come.'²⁸³

From the general universalism to the particular Trotsky went on to encompass the general again but from an Inter-Nationals perspective, in 1934.

a workers' government is duty bound to create for the Jews, as for any nation, the very best circumstances for cultural development. This means, among other things: to provide for those Jews who desire to have their own schools, their own press, their own theatre, etc., a separate territory for self-administration and development. The international proletariat will behave in the same way when it

²⁸² Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

²⁸³ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

becomes master of the whole globe. In the sphere of the national question there must be no restraint; on the contrary, there must be all-round material assistance for the cultural needs of all nationalities and ethnic groups. If this or that national group is doomed to go down (in the national process) then this must proceed in the same way as a natural process, but never as a consequence of any territorial, economic, or administrative difficulties.²⁸⁴₈₈

In a philosophical sense, the change in orientation towards the Jewish People and its subsequent treatment within the prerogatives of auto-emancipation was closely related to the transformation in Marxist methodology from that of the Second to that of the Third and then Fourth Internationals. More precisely, it follows the difference in orientation between the school of Plekhanov and Kautsky to that of the Vienna school in the Second International. While the former relied upon causality, the later moved towards the acceptance of its inverse, teleology, since the social relations of production₈₉ became a fundamental methodological aspect, in addition to that of class analysis.²⁸⁵ Within the framework of those social relations we have found that nationalities may be treated conceptually as 'Orders' with a particular class structure which differs from the mainstream class alignments, due to social alienation. This explains why the Jewish People have been treated to such particular and widely differing class analyses. This philosophical realignment from causality (the formal methodology of empirical deterministic Scientism), towards a form of Praxis, corresponds to the ongoing developments of the twentieth century, including the scourge of Nazism. Thus the change in perception of the concept of the Nation was not simply as matter of enforced reaction to the empirical events of history, but also represents a

²⁸⁴ Nedava, *op cit.*, pp. 216-217, and Leon Trotsky, *on the Jewish Question*, New York, Pathfinder Press, 1970, p. 19.

²⁸⁵ Lucio Colletti, *The Marxism of the Second international*.

permanent and fundamental re-evaluation of the orientation to the State and Society. This adaptation was reflected during the period of the 1930's when Bronstein's denounced Bundism in conceptual terms, in respect to the organizational question of revolutionary party organization, while ending with his affirmation of Ukrainian independence.⁹⁰

Having forsaken Georgian independence previously when Lenin proposed an alliance against Stalin, Trotsky thus ended by undermining himself having ignored the national struggle.⁹¹ It was Lenin, in the document treated as his testament and left out of sight of the public until 1956, who broke the dam erected against the national revolutionary movements in his final proclamation;

An abstract concept of nationalism is absolutely worthless. Distinction should be made between the nationalism of an oppressing nation and the nationalism of an oppressed nation, the nationalism of a large nation and the nationalism of a small nation.

[...] We, the nationals of a great nation, show ourselves almost always in historical practice guilty of untold numbers of outrages and, what is more - we do not even observe that we are perpetrating untold numbers of acts of violence and abuse. [...]

[...] The oppressed nationals are not as sensitive in regard to any other matter as in regard to their equality. [...] It would be preferable to sin by too much rather than too little concession and indulgence toward national minorities.⁹²²⁸⁶

In this manner the revolutionary potential terminated in enlightened afterthought. Not only were the national strivings of the captured Nations of the Czarist Empire lost for the coming period, but the actual revolutionary State crumbled into the abyss it created by suppressing the national auto-

²⁸⁶ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11, 236.

determination struggles.

The differentiation between the Nation as a People, as opposed to a State institution, is fundamental to any precise consideration of the issue²⁸⁷ and yet, it is rarely invoked. This same problematic situation is maintained in the works of Marxism, in general. Nonetheless, its roots lie in the nature of the Nation that has been developed over the period of the accumulation of political culture since the beginning of human time; beginning about 200,000 years ago in the continent of Africa ⁹³.

1.4.5 Anarchist Perspectives

The mis-evaluation of the Nation in the standard Anarchist interpretation of the national struggles is contrasted by Bakunin's position on 'democratic Pan-Slavism'. By upholding the 'natural right' of auto-determination he took an anti-Statist position while upholding the identity of national formations.

Down with the artificial boundaries which have been forcibly erected by despotic congresses according to so-called historical, geographical, strategic necessities! There should no longer be any other barriers between the nations but those corresponding to nature, to justice and those drawn in a democratic sense which the sovereign will of the people themselves denotes on the basis of their national qualities.⁹⁴²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Y.N. Kly, *African Americans and the Right to Self-Determination*, op. cit., pp. 17, 23-24.

²⁸⁸ Davis, op cit., pp. 39, 219.

The Irish activist-writer James Connolly, who was also an early organizer of the USA's anarcho-syndicalist IWW (International Workers of the World), presented an elaborate theory of national and class social transformation. Relying on both Irish traditional sources and international theory, he combined Wolfe Tone and Bakunin. Inspired by the United Irish movement of Theobald Wolfe Tone in 1798, he cites,

Our Independence must be had at all hazards. If the men of property will not help us, they must fall; we will free ourselves by the aid of that large and respectable class of the community - the men of no property.²⁸⁹

From Bakunin, he adopted the "free federation of free peoples".²⁹⁰ Connolly's concept of proletarian national-identity in addition provided a synthesis of class and nationality.

The Irish nationalist movement was already putting into practice in 1915 the policy that was advocated by the Zimmerwald Conference in September of that year; "Now you must stand up for your own cause, for the sacred aims of socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed nations as well as of the enslaved classes, by means of irreconcilable proletarian class struggle."²⁹¹₉₅

This citation being a reference to the anti-war manifesto written by Bronstein in his position as the moderator of that Zimmerwald Conference (the 2½ International). Connolly foresaw the role of the proletariat in the national liberation revolution as a process whereby the proletarians assume control of

²⁸⁹ James Connolly, *Selected Political Writings*, London, Jonathan Cape, Writings of the Left, Ralph Miliband (ed.), 1973, p. 166.

²⁹⁰ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

²⁹¹ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 228.

the apparatus of civil society with the view of displacing the bourgeois influence in the administration of society. In this manner he distinguished himself from Lenin who characterized the national struggle in the bourgeois sense. Connolly put his synthesis forward in these words,

That the Irish Question is at bottom a Social Question, that Socialism alone can lay the material foundation necessary for the free development of the intellectual and spiritual forces of the scattered children of the Clan-na-Gael, and that the Socialist message to Ireland and to America is identical, and calls for the Industrial and Political Organization of Labor as the Means by which that End may be reached. [...]

The Irish Working Class must emancipate itself, and in emancipating itself it must, perforce, free its country.²⁹²

Rudolph Rocker has provided the most elaborated presentation of anarchism as far as it impinges upon the Nation in his *Nationalism and Culture*. Rocker though separates culture from the concept of the Nation and so tends to merge it with the Nation-State.

When the social bond threatens to be broken the rulership of compulsion enters to hold together by force what was once united into a community by free agreement and personal responsibility.

The Renaissance was a time of such dissolution. The people changed to the mob, and from the mob was formed the nation, which was to serve as stepping stone to the new state. This origin is very instructive, for it shows that the whole power apparatus of the national state and the abstract idea of the nation have grown on one tree. It is not by chance that Machiavelli, the theoretician of modern power politics, was also the warmest defender of national unity, which played from then on the same part for the new state as the

²⁹² Connolly, *op. cit.*, 'Erin's Hope... The End and the Means', pp. 168, 189.

unity of Christianity had played for the church.²⁹³

Nonetheless Rocker defines two forms of nationalism which corresponded to class formations. In the case of the Hussite Reformation in Bohemia, the temporal power was adopted and turned against the "petty guardianship of the church" and the German "despoilers of their country" by the Calixtines and the Ultraquists who represented the nobility and the richer citizens of Prague on the one hand, and the Taborites on the other. The Taborites represented,

the real popular movement, comprising mainly the peasants and the poorer city population, pushed further and demanded especially the liberation of the peasants from the yoke of serfdom which so heavily oppressed the rural districts. [...] The movement of the so-called Taborites (3) embraced especially all democratic elements of the people up to the communists and chiliants and was inspired with an ardent courage for battle.

3. 'Taborites', because they had given to a town which stood on a hill in the neighborhood of Prague, the biblical name of Tabor. Tabor remained, until the suppression of the Taborites, the spiritual center of the movement, and its inhabitants practised a sort of communal possession which might be called a war communism.²⁹⁴

In 1420 Pope Martin V launched a crusade against this Bohemian heresy with 150,000 men, but was defeated in the battle of Taus, concluded by the Council of Basle. Soon afterwards though in 1434 the noble and richer citizens annihilated the Taborites.

Their opponents, the professors of Prague University, accused them of striving for a condition where "there would be no king nor ruler

²⁹³ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²⁹⁴ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

nor subjects anywhere on earth, all control and guidance would cease, none could compel another to anything, and all would dwell in equality like brothers and sisters.”²⁹⁵

This similar treatment as the 1925-27 Chinese revolutionary wave, illustrates the conflicting class conceptions of the Nation, even though Rocker tends to accept the bourgeois definition.

The actual resource in this anarchist's analysis is found in its critique of the State, even though it is conceived of as solely the Hegelian-Marxian Nation-State. By means of Rocker's, "The Fundamental Principle of Power", the dynamics of Nations and nationalities are pre-determined, as if relations are the exclusive domain of the State.

Every power is animated by the wish to be the only power, because in the nature of its being it deems itself absolute and consequently opposes any bar which reminds it of the limits of its influence. Power is active consciousness of authority. Like God, it cannot endure any other God beside it. This is the reason why a struggle for hegemony immediately breaks out as soon as different power groups appear together or have to keep inside of territories adjacent to one another. Once a state has attained the strength which permits it to make decisive use of its power it will not rest satisfied until it has achieved dominance over all neighboring states and has subjected them to its will. While not yet strong enough for this it is willing to compromise, but as soon as it feels itself powerful it will not hesitate to use any means to extend its rule, for the will to power follows its own laws, which it may mask but can never deny.²⁹⁶

This could be considered the dynamic of the self-determination/sovereignty

²⁹⁵ Rocker, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁹⁶ Rocker, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3, p. 63.

of the State. It is to be noted here that the difference between self-determination and auto-determination is the difference between the singular (individual, unity) and the collective, since the State is conceived of as being a process of unification into the singular. This singularity was often given the title of Deity in its head of State.

Alternatively, it is the Collective that is capable of auto-determination. It is the Nation that is the collective, and it cannot be concealed by the State. The Nation is the actual Form, while the State is its currently dominant tendency found in its Content. In this manner the Nation is defined as the collective notion of the People.

In his discussion of the origins of the State, Ibn Khaldun addresses this very matter and argues that "The state is therefore to society as form is to matter, for the form by its nature preserves the matter [...]" as derived for the presupposition that "Sovereignty is therefore peculiar to man, suited to his nature and indispensable to his existence.", as a principle. However, as he states as well, "[...] for human society can exist without such a Divine Law, merely in virtue of the authority imposed by one man or of the Social Solidarity which compels the others to follow and obey him." The alternative designation reveals the dichotomy between the sovereign State and the civil society in contradiction to the principle of sovereignty he upholds as well, despite having stated, "Co-operation however, secures both food and weapons [...]" Society is therefore necessary to man [...] and it is society which forms the subject of this science".²⁹⁷ The conflation between social solidarity ('asabia') and sovereignty is overcome in his discussion of regime transformation when, "Competition leads to struggle and wars and the

²⁹⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *op. cit.*, pp. 100,101.

overthrow of thrones, none of which can occur without social solidarity" so revealing the perpetuity of social solidarity while sovereignty may be overthrown since, " 'Once consolidated the state can dispense with social solidarity' ".²⁹⁸

Subsequent anarchist currents and writers have formed a reductionist version of the anti-Statist critique, abandoning the Collective to uphold the individual as the absolute singularity. That paradigm presents an internationalism based upon the assimilation of national culture into a universal individualism. This lack of appreciation of Proudhon's actual critique is basic to the failure of anarchism in its subsequent development. It suffices to note here Proudhon's conception of Europe;

Contrary to what takes place in other systems, then, the idea of a universal confederation is contradictory. Here once more we see the moral superiority of the federal over the unitary system, which is subject to all the shortcomings and vices of the undefined, the unlimited, the absolute, the ideal. Even Europe would be too large to form a single confederation; it could form only a confederation of confederations. That is why, in my last book, I laid down as the first step towards the reform of public law in Europe the restoration of the confederations of Italy, Greece, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and the Danube, as a prelude to the decentralization of the large states and hence to general disarmament. (14) Thus each nationality would recover its liberty, and a European balance of power would be achieved - an idea foreseen by all the political theorists and statesmen, but impossible to realize among great powers with unitary constitutions.²⁹⁹

Thus, Nations remain identifiable in the projected confederation even while

²⁹⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁹⁹ Proudhon, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

national cultures form the basic units of the confederation. The pamphlet by Sam Dolgoff is notable in this respect,

There is an unbridgeable difference between the concept of the nation-state as against natural communities. The natural community, a confluence of human beings, with a common history, a common language and cultural background, springs from free social alliances. Nationalism, the political theology of the state, must not be confounded with one's natural love for the place and the people with whom one is reared.³⁰⁰

It should be noted that the 'Makhnovtchina' of the Ukraine who founded the « république d'Azov et de la mer Noire [...] [des] soviets non étatiques »³⁰¹ in 1919, elaborated and implemented a non-Statist policy of national recognition through auto-determination with respect to both the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples.

'Quelques mots sur la question nationale en Ukraine'

Le sain instinct des travailleurs ukrainiens et leur pénible condition sous le joug bolchevik ne les empêchent pas d'oublier le danger étatique en général. C'est pour cette raison qu'ils se tiennent à l'écart de cette tendance chauvine et ne la mêlent pas à leurs aspirations sociales, cherchant leur propre voie vers l'émancipation.³⁰²

and likewise,

³⁰⁰ Sam Dolgoff, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³⁰¹ V. Litvinov, *Nestor Makhno et la Question Juive*, Paris, Volonté Anarchiste 24, 1984, pp. 10, 45.

³⁰² Nestor Makhno, *La lutte contre l'État et autres écrits (1925 - 1932)*, J.-P. Ducret, 1984, p. 39

la renaissance de la nationalité juive et même à la tentative de créer un « Sion » juif révolutionnaire en Ukraine ! ³⁰³

Although relatively unknown, this territoriality is not exceptional. It may be noted here that, “*The Encyclopedia Judaica* lists over 120 cases of Jewish autonomy, in various forms, over the ages”.³⁰⁴ The aspects of the present moment are multiple; as such the events of the past remain, by way of their consequences, imbedded in the present. Such currents and/or tendencies composed of subterranean social formations provide a volatile series of dimensions of consciousness. The presence of historical events weighs on the present, seeking to replicate themselves. Without a critique of the past, the present is only a site from which the past is perpetuated. This simultaneity is perceived by the theological interpretations of existence as eternity³⁰⁵₉₆. The national consciousness exists beyond the individual or any particular moment of existence to encompass the collective memory in a perspective of existence beyond time itself. Linear time is irrelevant to its propagation.³⁰⁶₉₇

1.4.6 Globalization

In terms of international relations, the ties between Nation and Class

³⁰³ Makhno, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³⁰⁴ Alan Dowty, ‘Israeli Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question’, *BESA Center for Strategic Studies*, Online, < <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/> >, Email, barry rubin < besa@mail.biu.ac.il >, Fri, 19 Feb 1999, *MERIA Journal*, Vol. 3 No. 1/ Dowty, ‘Israeli Politics’, *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (MERIA) *MERIA Journal* Volume 3, Number 1/March 1998.

³⁰⁵ Benedict Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³⁰⁶ Benedict Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

are translated into terms of dominance and dependency. The relative dynamics between the Nation, Society and the Nation-State remain operative, although the Nation-State may be placed in differing contexts concerned with world structures and international capital;

the dominant capitalist forces changed purposes from producing goods (production capital) to controlling enterprises for the purpose of maximizing profit (finance capital). [...] Therefore, the nation-state could no longer have much influence over capital flows, nor capital as a class. [...] That fact, consolidated in fairly short order over the past twenty years or so (though the globalization of capital has been going on for many centuries), removes one of the levers previously sought after by working and owning classes.

The nation-state as focus of power and control has been replaced by supernational power-wielding institutions to which the working class currently has little access. These are the United Nations and most of its affiliated NGOs; the international Monetary Fund; the World Bank; the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; the World Trade Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]; the World Trade Organization [WTO]; the treaty organizations of NAFTA [North America Free Trade Agreement], the European Union, APEC (Asia) and, to a lesser extent, MERCOSUR and similar trade treaty units [MAI - Multilateral Agreement on Investment, GATT - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]. [...]

Those changes create conceptual, theoretical and practical problems [...] Previous assumptions hinged around [...] the idea that the nation is the largest feasible unit of human organization, and that the state is the method of organizing power to exercise the interests

of the nation. Thus, the nation-state.³⁰⁷

The diminishing importance of the nation-state may be offered as a rationale for the view that in correspondance to the nature of the nation-state, the relative significance of nationalism is diminishing in world political developments as well. However, it is apparent that national phenomena are increasing in significance irrespective of their size or the tendencies to Globalization. This is in fact a major factor not only in the disintegration of the Nation-State established as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, not to mention Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, but also in the unification of the German Nation. It is rather the increasing significance of national-identity together with the dynamic of Globalization that is the contradiction inherent in a theory of the State that choses to ignore Civil Society as the basis for the exercise of power

Further still, the perspective that holds true the idea that national-identity is melted away by the global coordination imposed by the nation-states, which supposedly sacrifice a portion of their sovereignty (if not all), leads to a conclusion that there must be a lack of motivation for the perpetuation of national consciousness in the citizenry of its nation-state. This implies defining national consciousness as the ideology of the State, custom designed to maintain its perpetuity. The nationalist ideology is thus further defined in its own image of its State. If the State was once defined as the aristocracy, as during the feudal period, then the Nation has since been appropriated and is defined as such subsequently. It may have been that the

³⁰⁷ Ken Collier, 'Relaunching a Socialist Project - The Pragmatics', pp. 47-54, *Socialist Studies Bulletin - Bulletin d'Etudes Socialistes*, Number 46, Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 1996, p. 50.

feudal peasantry was indeed of an indigenous nationality, in part or in whole, which was subjugated after the invasion of a competing nation. In any case, the nationalist ideology may be defined sub-consciously as one particular nation, and as excluding other existing nations and nationalities. Such in fact is the case in Canada, where the nation-state defines its ideology of nationalism as that of the identity of the 'Canadian' nation alone, so excluding the Québécois (Kébékois) nation, to name only one.

Insofar as globalization is concerned in the XXth Century, the organic national-identity of the nation's civil society is maintained irrespective of the lack of perpetuation of the nationalist ideology of the State. Perhaps one can even say that the discounting of nationalism itself is a reflection of the lack of interest in the functioning sovereignty of the existing State apparatus. For example, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) has been the latest facet in the dissolution of Canadian integrity. Internally however, the national-identity is a hot topic in contestation with North American integration as well as the Québec 'indépendantiste' movement.

The contradictions and the vacuum created by the crisis in nationalist ideology provide for the nurturing of a relatively autonomous sense of national-identity, free of the State. However, the State is itself not the only problem as concerns the propagation of national consciousness. It is merely that the State is a creation of a particular consciousness that exists as a tendency in the political culture of a nation. The state then promotes the ascendancy of that social class which corresponds to that nationalist ideology. It is evident that the nature of national consciousness is also defined in terms that reflect the social class that conceives of its national identity, and seemingly in its own class terms. This tendency persists in the working class as well. National exclusivity

is also a general tendency in terms of both state ideology and any particular class formation. The innovation coming from the United States political culture is that its predominant national identity is based in the collective personality of its non-bourgeois classes, since the bourgeois was an underdeveloped class during the American revolution. Nonetheless, the modernist progressive working mans' "America" is grander in its imperial ambitions than had been the case previously.

In addition to State and Class, gender has been the basis of the male national conception, to the extent that women were not considered as either citizens or even persons for a period of time, and consequently excluded from the Nation, which was considered to be composed of the male population exclusively.

The encumbrance of the State, or class structures and gender dominance in general, upon the national consciousness (national political culture) has created such contradictions in international relations as to have brought all to the brink of nuclear warfare, on repeated occasions. The promise of a resolution of such prominent social characteristics prevalent in the previous century must certainly be based in the critique of the State and of the class structure in its entirety. The issues that remain are social organization and the nature of the economy to be proposed. Both matters are of the same order of priority as they arise in a tandem with one another.

During this past century there have been various attempts to resolve these very issues. The lack of a combined dynamic in class and social structure, left the various revolutionary processes with a feeble posture in the face of the

combined effects of class and State hegemony, so undermining the major tentatives for their resolution.

1.4.7 Leninist Federation of Soviet Republics

The influence that the Proudhonist anarchist current had on the Third International's Soviet theory was entirely limited to it being considered as a transitory stage towards the universalism of the workers of all the countries unified. Here is another example of the stagiist paradigm in Leninism itself which served to nurture Stalinism.

7° Le principe fédératif nous apparaît comme une forme transitoire vers l'unité complète des travailleurs de tous les pays.³⁰⁸

It is revealing to continue, insofar as Civil Society is addressed;

8° La tâche de l'Internationale communiste est d'étudier et de vérifier l'expérience (et le développement ultérieur) de ces nouvelles fédérations basées sur la forme soviétiste et sur le mouvement soviétiste. Considérant la fédération comme une forme transitoire vers l'unité complète, il nous est nécessaire de tendre à une union fédérative de plus en plus étroite,³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ l'Internationale Communiste, *op. cit.*, le C, Thèses, p. 57.

³⁰⁹ l'Internationale Communiste, *op. cit.*, le C, Thèses, p. 58.

since the federation was based upon the soviets, it would then be the extinction of the soviets as well that would follow with the extinction of the federation as it is tightened up. The extinction of the federated soviets was based on the economic determinist projection,

2° de la nécessité d'une étroite union économique des républiques soviétistes, sans laquelle la réédification des forces productrices détr[uit] par l'impérialisme, la sécurité et le bien-être des travailleurs ne peuvent être assurés; 3° de la tendance à la réalisation d'un plan économique universel dont l'application régulière serait contrôlée par le prolétariat de tous les pays, tendance qui s'est manifestée avec évidence sous le régime capitaliste et doit certainement continuer son développement et arriver à la perfection par le régime socialiste; [...]
] ³¹⁰

In effect, the Soviet movement which made the revolution possible was abandoned in favour of the hegemony of the party-prestate formation, which functioned as a state-in-waiting, preparing itself for the revolutionary upsurge of civil society. With the advent of State power, the party formation sought to extend a universal economic plan in spite of civil society and its Soviets in particular, so seeking their dissolution.

The treatment of national minorities was a presumed necessity at that time and finds its expression here as well, although the agency of such expressions is assigned to the Communist Party in all contexts considered.

9° Dans le domaine des rapports sociaux à l'intérieur des Etats

³¹⁰ l'Internationale Communiste, *op. cit.*, le C, Thèses, col 1, p. 58.

constitués, [...] il faut aussi démontrer sans cesse que le gouvernement des Soviets seul peut réaliser l'égalité des nationalités en unissant les prolétaires d'abord, l'ensemble des travailleurs ensuite dans la lutte contre la bourgeoisie; il faut aussi démontrer que le régime des Soviets assure un concours direct, par l'intermédiaire du Parti communiste, à tous les mouvements révolutionnaires des pays dépendants ou lésés dans leurs droits (par exemple, l'Irlande, les noirs d'Amérique, etc. [...]) et des colonies.

Sans cette condition particulièrement importante de la lutte contre l'oppression des pays asservis ou colonisés, la reconnaissance officielle de leur droit à l'autonomie n'est qu'un enseigne mensongère, comme nous le voyons par la le Internationale.³¹¹

The key transition point between the federated soviets and the State takes place in the reference above to "the government of the Soviets" and the "regime of the Soviets" when in principle the Soviets are autonomous and have no such government, just as the Judiciary is independent of the State. These Soviets are organisms in Civil Society which continue to exist in spite of a change of government, a change of State, or its dissolution.

There is a parallel to be found with the Leninists in the French Revolution with respect to the practice of the Jacobin party in power.

the French nation, constituted for fourteen centuries as a monarchy by divine right, could not have transformed itself overnight into a republic of any kind; that the Gironde, reproached for its federalism, represented the thought of the revolution better than the Jacobins did [...] in re-establishing the monarchical system, with its absolutism intensified, under the name of 'the single and indivisible republic,'

³¹¹ l'Internationale Communiste, *op. cit.*, le C, Thèses, p. 58.

they sacrificed the very principle of revolution and displayed a Machiavellianism of sinister portent. A temporary dictatorship could have been justifiable; but a dogma, which inevitably led to the consecration of all the excesses of power and the destruction of national sovereignty, was nothing less than a crime. The Jacobins' single and indivisible republic did more than ruin the ancient federalism of the provinces; it made liberty impossible in France, and made revolution illusory.³¹²

The self-rationalizations of Statist ideologies then are thus put aside, in their differing historical epochs.

Before assuming State power, Trotsky/Bronstein made his critique of Leninism in this way;

Between the position of a party and the interests of the social stratum on which it rests, there may be a certain lack of harmony that may later become converted into a profound contradiction. The conduct of a party may change under the influence of the temper of the masses. This is indisputable. All the more reason therefore for us, in our calculations, to cease relying on less stable and less trustworthy elements such as the slogans and the tactics of a party, and to refer to more stable historical factors; to the social structure of the nation, to the relation of class forces and the tendencies of development.³¹³

One consequence of and a derivation of the failure and eventual collapse of the Russian State-socialist experiment was the combined national and

³¹² Proudhon, *The Principle of Federalism*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³¹³ Leon/Lev Trotsky/Bronstein, *Trotsky : The Great Debate Renewed*, Niclas Krasso (ed.), St. Louis, Miss., New Cities Press, 1972, pp. 20-21.

socialist revolutionary overthrow of the Libyan King Idris in 1969 by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. This experiment which has endured thirty years, is of interest due to the propagation of a revolutionary society without the mechanism of a political party or State. Considering the absence of preparations for the perpetuation of the State, the implications for the dissolution of a state structure may be limited only by the lack of an elaborated theory for civil society, despite the construction of representative bodies of a People's Congress - together with the Basic People's Congresses in the regional and municipal areas.³¹⁴ Together with the empowerment of some institutions of civil society, a confusion prevails over the differentiation between the State and Civil Society in this continuing revolution³¹⁵. The National State concept appears to prevail as the conceptual norm with a corresponding lack of recognition for the Bedouin and Berber nationalities, although the revolutionary guide and founder Muammar Khadafi is himself of the Bedouin nationality. The feasibility of implementing the construction of an independent Civil Society is nonetheless confirmed by the level of participation in the Basic People's Congresses which has increased from about 10 per cent to 70 per cent of the population together with the increase in alphabetisation from 10 per cent to 50 per cent over the period of the last thirty years.

It is 'à propos' that we refer to John Locke here because of his prescience for the social tendency of community de-centralization, and peoples' power as exemplified by the Jamahiriya.

³¹⁴ Muammar Al Qathafi, *The Green Book*, Tripoli, S.P.L.A.J., The Public Establishment for Publishing, or Ottawa, Canada, Jerusalem International Publishing House Inc.

³¹⁵ Suleiman Al-Ghweil, *The National State : A Comparative Analytical Study*, Tripoli, Libya, The World Center for the Studies and Researches of the Green Book, 1990, p. 31.

And thus the community may be said in this respect to be always the supreme power, but not as considered under any form of government, because this power of the people can never take place till the government be dissolved.³¹⁶

The great number of emerging societies in this post-colonial age, each providing their particular innovations, and installing their own civil societies, provides a great number of experimental situations from which to develop the institutions of Society at an accelerated rate.

³¹⁶ John Locke, *Two Treatises on Civil Government*, London, George Rautledge & Sons, 1903, Ch XIII #149, p. 270.

1.4.8 Concluding Remarks

In researching the nature of national identity as contained in national consciousness one refines the essence of the concept in human thought, history and practice. If this “essence” means the essential nature of the phenomenon, then this study seeks out the essence of the Nation. The conclusion most evident is that the essential nature of the Nation is not the State! Despite the ideological contention of Statism that the evolution of the Nation is the modern manifestation of the State, as proposed by itself, it may be seen here that the Nation in its essential form continues to exist, in spite of the State.

Nevertheless, it is still a current practice to treat State structures in preference to national entities, as if the former represented the latter. Ernst Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* is one such example while Anthony Smith's *The Ethnic Origin of Nations* lends legitimacy to political culture. Gellner's perception that “the condition for the emergence of the national principle and nationalist movements was the stage of development reached by some states in Europe”³¹⁷ divorces national identity from the Nation, as if there exists only an official nationalism and nation sanctified by the State. This Eurocentric principle is far from the focus of this study. A further critique of the political theory of Nationalism is found in the current Introduction.

³¹⁷ D. Triantaphyllou, Review of ‘The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity’, by James G. Kellas, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-238, p. 237.

Although the terminology has been changed in current discussions, there remain outstanding issues that pertain to the “racial” or familial origin of nations (sociobiology), as differentiated from the proposition of cultural and historical origins (neurophysiology). The approach of social psychology inclines to a behaviouristic methodology which assumes the objective of social cohesion being maintained by the State, a defect based on the view that the multiethnic or multinational nature of most societies is considered problematic.

In terms of what is treated as the basic social unit, there are a number of choices that have been presented; the dichotomy of individual or the family, or the homogenous nation counterpoised to the individual. The standard treatment of the individual as well, is only considered in isolation from nation culture, gender, age, and class. The individual is left to be a unit in the body politic of the State’s citizenry as in the *Treaty of Westphalia* where Citizens are listed together with Vassals and Subjects while Nobles are identified with the State,

States (therein comprehending the Nobility, which depend immediately on the Empire) their Vassals, Subjects, Citizens, Inhabitants [...] shall be fully re-establish’d on the one side and the other, in the Ecclesiastick or Laick state, which they enjoy’d, or could lawfully enjoy, notwithstanding any Alterations, which have been made in the mean time to the contrary.³¹⁸

³¹⁸ ‘Treaty of Westphalia’, On-line, <

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations/nature/westphalia.htm> >, Article VI, *loc.cit.*, footnote 42, I-21.

Identity is here looked upon as multi-faceted, incorporating the elements of nationality, gender et cetera, as well as individuality.

Kohn's fundamental conclusion differentiating between two tendencies in national consciousness should be mentioned here as an aspect in the analysis of the Nation;

Two main concepts of nation and fatherland emerged in the intertwining of influences and conditions; conflicting and fusing, they became embodied in currents of thought in all nations and, to a varying degree, in entire nations. The one was basically a rational and universal concept of political liberty and the rights of man, looking towards the city of the future. In it the secularized Stoic-Christian tradition lived on: in England, in its Protestant form; in France, in its Catholic form. It found its chief support in the political and economic strength of the educated middle classes and, with a shift of emphasis, in the social-democratically organized labor movements. The other was basically founded on history, on monuments and graveyards, even harking back to the mysteries of ancient times and of tribal solidarity. It stresses the past, the diversity and self-sufficiency of nations. It found its support, above all, among the aristocracy and the masses. These two concepts of nationalism are the poles around which the new age with its innumerable shadings and transitions will revolve; from them it draws the pathos and the promises which move the hearts of men and masses as did in preceding ages the expectations of heavenly bliss and of redemption.³¹⁹

Insofar as Kohn did not draw out his conclusion to the organizational conception of the Nation, his conclusion is lacking the necessary critique of the

³¹⁹ Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

State. In effect Kohn does not propose an analysis of the State even while he has delineated the counterpoised tendencies of inclusive and exclusive national consciousness. This methodology of defining nationalism into two counterpoising manners is a derivative of Simon Dubnow's approach³²⁰, an approach that does not take into consideration the differentiation between State and Civil Society. The defining characteristics of the two main concepts of nation and fatherland tend to a formal division of history into the new nationalism and the ancient without taking into consideration the co-existing trends of each concept throughout history. To that extent, Kohn displays a conjunctural analysis characteristic of the XIXth Century modernist self-conception tied to the formalist perception of progress; scientism. The continuation of this critique of the political theories of nationalism is found in the preceding 'Introduction' here.

The history of wars against Peoples is not recorded in the histories of the State. Only documented contracts signed by parties on declarations of war or of surrender, are considered legally recorded historical documents; that is, documents of the State. As such, the war perpetuated by the German Nazi political party's international movement upon the Jewish Nation is not recorded in itself, neither as a belligerence, or as a surrender. In effect, there is a state of war still operative since the state of war has neither been ended by the Nazi and fascist movements nor by the Jewish People. Notable the Jewish resistance of 1939-1945 was successful in its campaign of limiting the Nazi advance into Byelorussia and Latvia, until the Red Army formed up to aid (and subsequently assimilate) the Jewish Partisan movement.

³²⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 95.

If the state of nature is a state of war, of each against all, then it is an accord (treaty) that makes peace; but only a perpetual peace is a true peace. Thus the social formations seeking their perpetuity in a common Society and world must then consider a Code of Federation. This is then a demonstration of the Right of Recognition₁₀₀, as a fundamental right recognized in the Constitutional framework of that given Civil Society. The conception of the Nation is so markedly different than the State associated with it, that a multiple and cascading series of consequences arise as a result of their differentiation. It is enough for a State to define a colony as a province (like Algeria for example, or for that matter a Nation such as the Québécoise) and no further consideration is permitted for collective rights. Ernest Renan explicitly points out that,

Dans l'ordre d'idées que je vous soumets, une nation n'a pas plus qu'un roi le droit de dire à une province; « Tu m'appartiens, je te prends. » Une province, pour nous, ce sont ses habitants; si quelqu'en en cette affaire a droit d'être consulté, c'est l'habitant. Une nation n'a jamais un véritable intérêt à s'annexer ou à retenir un pays malgré lui. Le voeu des nations est, en définitive, le seul critérium légitime, celui auquel il faut toujours en revenir.³²¹

The Jewish People have still not achieved recognition as a Nation in the international arena because the Western Christian States have preferred to foster recognition for "a nation like the other nations" as is the State of Israel. In the internal domain of the State much the same lack of recognition prevails for other minority nationalities.

³²¹ Renan, *op. cit.*, pp. 904-905.

Since the decline of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD/ACE, the Christian era deferred to the age of the grand Nation-States, with the exclusion of the Jewish nation, the Arab Moors, the Moroccan expatriates, as well as others. This exclusion is due to the nature of the Nation-State which was founded as a secular but nonetheless Christian State. A Jewish version of the Nation-State has been propagated in the State of Israel which has now passed its fiftieth year of existence without reconciling itself with the nations within and next to it.

1.5 Conclusions

1) Society is the recapitulation of the 'organismic hierarchy' of Arthur Koestler's³²² which maintains its stability, much as an individual, by a balancing of self-assertive and self-transcending tendencies. Neither one or the other overcomes the pathological tendency in human social or psychological history. Homogeneity in a conformist ideology is the loss of personal identity in self-transcendence, while self-assertion alone in the name of a collective identity may amount to the same thing. The duality of consciousness is the basis of sanity, both individual and social. Thus, the mélange of cultures in cosmopolitanism serves to undermine the homogeneity of mono-cultures and allows for the duality of consciousness.

The first condition of life must necessarily be survival, by definition. This consciousness arises with the actuality of death. In the collective sense of

³²² Arthur Koestler, *The Ghost in the Machine*, London, Pan Books Ltd, p. 76.

perception, the question of survival may very well be defined in terms of national identity, for the sake of perpetuity, especially during a post-genocide period (as experienced by the Ashkenazi Jewish community). The mass psychology of such a condition engenders extremes of both self-transcendence into the national identity, and, self-assertiveness as a defence mechanism. This state of nature ('status naturalis') is addressed by the theory of natural law as put forward by Herder, who codified it as such;

First Natural Law

to the permanent condition of a thing a sort of perfection is requisite, a maximum or minimum, arising out of the mode of action of the powers of that thing.³²³

Second natural law

that all perfection and beauty of compound, limited things, or systems of them, rest on such a maximum.³²⁴

The maximization of the duality that is lacking requires a methodology by which the perfecting of the dual tendencies balance themselves into a stable mode of vibration.

³²³ Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Reflections on The Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, *op.cit.*, pp. 96-97.

³²⁴ Herder, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

Third natural law

if a being, or system of being, be forced out of this permanent condition of its truth, goodness, and beauty, it will again approach it by its internal powers, either in vibrations, or in an asymptote; as out of this state it finds no stability.³²⁵

That is to say, the focal point to methodology is survival.

2) When the French revolutionary process was proclaimed by the representatives of the third estate (Commoners) on June 20, 1789 in the oath of the *Jeu de paume* ('tennis-court oath'), they declared that they constituted an assembly of the nation with a mandate for constitutional reform. This event affirms the independence of the Nation from the State in its first instance, affirms that the lower classes constitute the bases of the Nation, and demonstrates the nature of the Civil Society that delineates the content of that Nation. ¹⁰¹

3) The delineation of the concept of Nation may be grounded in its own right by the distinction made with respect to the State and Civil Society although it may be further elaborated in terms of its historical progression. With the predominance of the Statist perspective on the Nation little attention has focussed on the character of the Nation in its own history and self-conception.

Simon Dubnow provides a rich source of analysis of the various

³²⁵ Herder, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

expressions of the Nation in his work *Nationalism and History : Essays on Old and New Judaism*, a work that has gained little attention. Dubnow thinks in a similar fashion with Renan in that the abstraction of the Nation is spiritual, as in, "Un nation est un principe spiritual résultant des complications profondes de l'histoire [...]" ³²⁶ This principle results from the identity made by Renan between Nation and People.

Dubnow, in *The Doctrine of Jewish Nationalism* found in his First Letter presents his first point as,

- I. The course of the development of the national type: tribal foundations, territorial, political, and cultural-historical or spiritual.
 - The transition from material to spiritual culture in the growth of a nation. – The test of the internal strength of a nation; its loss of statehood and territory. ³²⁷

so defining the spiritual principal of Renan as a cultural-historical set of attributes dissociated from both the State and territory. Dubnow furthermore states as a third point of attention,

³²⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 79.

³²⁷ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 76.

III. The transition from objective to subjective criteria in scientific definitions of the term "nation." – Spiritual affinity as more important than blood relationship; essential basis of the nation.³²⁸

Thus in this manner he puts aside the racist definitions of Nation.

The development of the cultural-historical attribute though is made by Dubnow in a linear periodic fashion; "[...] we can distinguish the following stages in the evolution of national types: (1) the tribal type, (2) the territorial-political or autonomous type, (3) the cultural-historical or spiritual type",³²⁹ which puts into question his tolerance of the Zionist State formation since it is in contradiction with his lineal progression which indicates that the territorial-political State had been surpassed historically in the development of the Jewish Nation as a People. This is explained by the lack of differentiation made between the State and Civil Society, the latter providing the historical continuity for the perpetuation of the Nation despite the loss of the State and territory. This Civil Society is what Dubnow consigns to the spiritual sphere and so loses the significance of national-identity as a social phenomenon. While presenting a non-Zionist perspective centred on the autonomy of the 'Galut' or 'Diaspora' communities, he lacks the critique of Zionism appropriate to his doctrine. The Zionist ideology has refrained from providing Dubnow with any acknowledgement of precedence nonetheless.

Dubnow credits Alfred Fouillée with a parallel system of national ontology;

³²⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 76.

³²⁹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 76.

* The formulation which most closely resembles this scheme of development of national types is that by Alfred Fouillée in his *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens*. In the section on "Factors of National Character," Fouillée lists the following "three great factors" as most important for the development of the physical and psychic structure of a people: (1) accumulate inherited tradition; (2) adaptation to the physical environment; (3) adaptation to the social milieu.³³⁰

Here, the reference to the "adaptation to the social milieu" provides a clearer conception of the cultural-historical attributes of the People as Nation; as Civil Society.

The further demarcation and elaboration of Nation and State is found in Delos who marks the distinction between Nation and State;

[...] le régime d'État facilite l'essor de la nation, et celui-ci crée des conditions favorables au développement du sens politique. Mais il serait faux de dire que la nation se transforme en État. La vérité est que les mêmes hommes peuvent être à la fois 'conationaux' et 'concitoyens'; la vie de la nation et celle de l'État restent différentes; elles n'ont pas la même origine, n'obéissent pas aux mêmes lois de développement, n'ont pas la même fonction ou la même fin.

[...] Quand la nation se déclare souveraine, c'est qu'elle se prend elle-même pour le corps politique qui forme l'État...

Il est important de souligner la distinction de la nation et de l'État, car les confondre conduit nécessairement au totalitarisme,

³³⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 78.

c'est-à-dire à l'absorption de la vie privée dans la vie publique au profit de l'État.³³¹

Even while Delos goes on further to confuse Society with the State, he has delineated the actual relation between the Nation and the State by noting that it is the Nation which precedes the State and not the inverse.¹⁰² The jurisdiction of the Society in relation to the State is confused in Delos although he is clear that the origin of the modern Nation-State arrives with the centralisation of an armed force under the head of State. The impediment to placing Society together with the Judiciary in the lap of Civil Society itself is a consequence of the lack of a conceptual apparatus which provides for the possibility of Civil Society asserting itself independently of the State. Such an alternative was available for a time during his period of research in the Soviets but he rejects proletarian consciousness as antithetical to the Nation and so ignores the independent social forms that the proletariat generated in creating its own self image in the content of civil society. Another facet of such an approach is the neglect of the multinational nature of the civil society which is assumed to reflect only the nation and no other, even though they co-exist in the same social milieu. The homogeneity of the Society as the Nation is the same methodological error which Delos refuses in the first place and this error leads him to assume that the State takes the responsibility for the Nation. Alternatively, the heterogeneity of the Society representing a People containing the Nation as well as various nationalities and Nations (which also served to found the People in mind) is conducive to a social constitution that serves to solidify the various components of civil society rather than congealing the Nation around those heterogeneous formations which remain imprisoned in the social unit.

³³¹ Delos, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 177, 179.

No doubt the exigencies of stability have led to the formulation of state constitutions which provide for the separation of powers, the renewal of mandates, division of legislative responsibilities, and respect for the independence of the judiciary, although such measures have not ensured the defence against the totalitarian substitution of civil society by the State. In this respect the recognition of Civil Society as the basis for self-governance remains the methodology of the perpetuation of the Nation or Nations and the affiliated social formations in a Society which functions independently and in place of the State.

* * * *

NOTES

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY AND THE STATE

1. Simon Dubnow in his *Nationalism and History*, pp. 98-99, refers to a "historical evolutionary consciousness" as the basis for his general thesis' third point; "The consciousness of the nationality itself is the main criterion of its existence".
2. See Hannah Arendt *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Part One, Chapter Three, 'The Jews and Society', p. 63.
3. Likewise, amongst the Québécois People there is included the majoritarian Nation of the bicultural social formation of the French and First Nations who were assimilated into a hybrid new Nation arising from the confluence of the western and eastern world migrations. Alongside this Québécois Nation are the binational social formations of First Nations and national minorities, who in their totality, form the Québécois People.
4. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume V H-K, Oxford at The Clarendon Press, 1933, pp. 576-577.
Jew, 2. transf. As a name of opprobrium or reprobation; spec. applied to a grasping or extortionate money-lender or usurer, or a trader who drives hard bargains or deals craftily.
Jew, v. colloq. To cheat or overreach, in that way attributed to Jewish traders or usurers.

5. In the case of the religious Zionist ideology, there is a manipulation made of the Jewish religious concept, to be found in the interpretations such as the Talmud, which postulate that there is a Jewish soul or spirit/ 'ahm' or 'geist' which is differentiated from the soul of nations/ 'goyim' other than Jewish lacking a Devine consciousness. This is interpreted to bestow non-reciprocal rights on the 'chosen nation' in spite of the Abrahamic Tradition. The human 'soul' is then itself differentiated from the animal 'soul'.

There is also a spiritual context to the term 'chosen' which has a sense of moral or ethical responsibility. Maimonides goes on to declare that within the Jewish Nation there is an selective eternal 'soul' that is formed only with the principle of Reason which may be considered to transcend the sense of exclusivity in nation. The matter of separateness in national-identity remains a problematic which is transcended in the context of the Abrahamic tradition by recognizing the commonality of various monotheistic philosophies.

6. The content expressed by the State is the personification of the leader, the governor, the head of State or the Monarch. Christianity is the perfected State ideology because it too is the personification of the deity in a single human. With a certain logic this parallels the Egyptian Pharaonic State theocracy.

7. See 'Refugee ruling raises concern among Jews', *The Montreal Gazette*, March 15, 1996, pp. A1-A2. "The two IRB [Immigration and Refugee Board] members rejected Grygorian's claim partly on the ground that as a Jew, she could always apply for citizenship in Israel under that country's Law of Return."

Considering the current Russian political climate where the Stalinist current is allied to the fascists under a nationalist umbrella, the prospects for the Russian Jewish community are in decline.

8. Directly in front of the Canadian State edifice is the land of Parliament Hill designated, in a metal plaque, as a Public Park, in the tradition of the English Commons which is derived from the English revolution itself, symbolizing, in turn, the public domain of Civil Society.

9. (Rioux 1971: 51)

10. 5 "Ernest Renan in his classical essay *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, Paris, 1882, stressed 'the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down' as the chief elements which keep the members of a people together in such a way that they form a nation. Translation quoted from *The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and other Studies*, London, 1896." Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Cleveland & NY, Meridian Books, p. 125.

11. 1. Alexander Passerin, *d'Entrêves*, 'The Notion of the State', pp. 30-31.

12. Translator's Notes: 'Introduction'

"Heading. I. This summary of the contents of the Introduction is added here from Hegel's original table of contents.

1. 2. The two moments of the Idea are (a) form, i.e. the concept - the will in this book - and (b) content, i.e. the existence of the concept or its embodiment in the realm of the finite - in this book a series of rights, subjects, and institutions embodying the will. The concept actualizes its potentialities by developing its determinations and embodying them in existence - see Paragraph 32. Now the characteristic of the external world is its finitude; anything in it is a this, here, and now, connected by external relations with other equally finite entities. Thought, on the other hand, is an organic system of internal relations, and hence it can never be perfectly embodied without remainder in any external sphere. External relations imply accidental as well as necessary connections, and the presence of accident in the finite is inescapable although, since the finite as a whole is mind externalized, and so depends for its being on mind, this contingency is confined within limits. The task of the philosophy of nature and the philosophy of history is to

ignore the contingency and penetrate through the husk of appearance to the reason, or the concept, at its heart. What it finds then is (a) a series of thoughts, the determinations of the concept, a necessary, organically connected, series, and (b) a series of natural phenomena and human institutions embodying the series of thoughts. To apprehend the idea is to grasp both these series. Actuality is the synthesis of the two. Besides this actuality there are the accidents and contingencies inseparable from the spatio-temporal sphere; of these the empirical scientist and the historian have to take account, but in Hegel's view they are of no importance to the philosopher. They are irrational and therefore lack actuality." [Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 304]

13. Godwin's *Political Justice* of 1793 is a primary source in this respect.
14. Remarkably, Hegel went on to foresee the form of State Communism that practices his conception of Corporate bodies in Civil Society being controlled by popular election ratified by higher authorities, somewhat later termed the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.
15. Those very elaborate, lucid, beautiful and dangerous conceptualizations of Hegel on identity are considered further in the Chapter III on 'Reciprocity and The Nation'.
16. It is interesting to note that in other cultures and times that conception asserts itself as well, such as in the French Vichy regime when the coins were marked with "TRAVAIL - FAMILLE - PATRIE" and the other side with "ÉTAT FRANÇAIS", rather than the familiar "LIBERTÉ - ÉGALITÉ - FRATERNITÉ", and, "REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE".

It was Tilly who said, "War makes states and states make war".

17. In the German Reichstag of 1895 the member of parliament Ahlwardt announced,

« Le Juif n'est pas un Allemand. Si vous dites que le Juif est né en Allemagne, qu'il a fêté le lait d'une nourrice allemande, qu'il a obéi aux lois allemandes, qu'il a fait son service militaire obligatoire - et

quel soldat il a été, mieux vaut ne pas en parler (Rires sur les bancs de droite) -, qu'il a rempli tous ses devoirs, qu'il a même dû payer des impôts, eh bien, tout cela ne décide en rien de sa nationalité; ce qui décide, c'est la race dont il est issu ('aus der er herausgeboren ist'). Permettez-moi une comparaison triviale, que j'ai déjà utilisée dans d'autres discours; un cheval né dans une étable à vaches n'en sera pas pour autant une vache (Tempête de rires). Un Juif a beau être né en Allemagne, cela n'en fait pas un Allemand, ce sera toujours un Juif. [Cité dans DEST, pp. 24-25] » (Raul Hilberg, *La Destruction des Juifs d'Europe*, 1961, éd. fr. Fayard, 1988.)

18. The hypothesis of a Christian-Judaic cultural tradition represents only an aspect and not the essential nature of their relation. Zionism or monarchism represents this aspect in the manner of Hellenism and is accordingly described by the phrase used by that political current in 'a Nation like other Nations'.

The Abrahamic tradition in founding its religious culture rejected idolatry as the symbolic subservience to the State and its religion, so necessitating a departure into a nomadic existence. The subsequent promulgation of the Mosaic Law, although based in the Hammurabian law which preceded it, was proposed as a social code for a national culture rather than a State.

The further elaboration of the Christian religion by the Roman State-Empire led to its institutionalization and subsequently as the means by which a given State sought to extend its authority, as in the Spanish monarchy's Inquisition.

19. With this principle General Sharon avoided prosecution for his role in the massacre of Sabra and Shatila (Beirut) during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon by the State of Israel, as long as he remains Prime Minister of the State.

20. In the way of an example we may refer to the description of the 'Civitas' in footnote # 2 of *La Nation : le problème de civilisation, Vol. I Sociologie de la Nation*, Éditions de L'Arbre, Montréal, 1944, par J.-T. Delos, Professeur de Droit International Public à la Faculté Catholique de Droit de Lille et à la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de l'Université Laval, Québec, p. 17;

² Il est à noter que les Grecs et les Romains s'opposaient aux Barbares, non sous le nom de Civilisés, - le mot est récent, nous l'avons dit, - mais sous le couvert de la *Cité*, d'un régime où la position de l'individu se définit par rapport à l'État et au droit. Nous-mêmes auhourd'hui conservons le nom de Barbares à des peuplades dont nous savons bien qu'elles ont les autres éléments d'une civilisation, mais qui sont, note justement M. Dawson, « à ce stade inférieur du développement des sociétés où les hommes ne sont pas encore organisés en État dans des cadres territoriaux fixes et des agglomérations urbaines », au stade tribal, fondé principalement sur la parenté et des liens personnels, et non au stade étatique, où le statut de l'individu s'établit par rapport à l'état. (sic) Cf. C. Dawson, *Les origines de l'Europe et de la Civilisation européenne*, Paris, Rieder, 1934, pp. 82-83.

Le Problème de Civilisation : La Nation, Volume I, Sociologie de la Nation, J.-T. Delos, Montréal, Éditions de L'Arbre, 1944, citation #2, p. 17.

21. "Thus we have made of you an Ummah justly balanced, that you might be witnesses over the nations, and the Messenger a witness over you." (HQ2:143)

22. Miloud Chennoufi here comments that, "selon la logique de l'État-Nation dont le concept génère celui de minorité, contrairement aux empires qui étaient par définition cosmopolites". *Grandes puissances et islamisme*, p. 51.

23. Sub-footnote: *Ibn Khaldun, a North African Muslim Thinker of the Fourteenth Century*, by E. Rosenthal, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Bulletin, 1940.

24. Sirus was also responsible for the liberation of the Babylon Jewish community when Persia conquered Babylonia emancipating 40,000 Jewish exiles some 2,500 years ago. The Babylon Jewish community then returned to Jerusalem (where the temple was rebuilt) while 20,000 went to Persia as well. The Babylon Jewish community remained in place until recent Zionist history when 125,000 left Iraq to join the State of Israel in the late 1940's and into 1952, leaving 6,000 remaining Iraqi Jewish people, now numbering less than a thousand. See Ben Gurion's Scandals; 'How the Haganah & the Mossad Eliminated Jews' by Naeim Giladi.

25. The rights extended at that time were the legalisation of public baths (Mikvas), the establishment of synagogues, schools and the imposition of a penalty of 4000 Zlotas for anti-Jewish infractions.

26. 3. S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, Philadelphia, 1916-1920, 3:10.

See also ; Robert F. Byrnes, *Pobedonostsev : His Life and Thought*, Bloomington and London, 1968, p. 207.

The author somewhat softens his subject's anti-Semitism by saying that he was opposed to pogroms, although supporting official repressive acts.

27. 27 Mailloux, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[T.R.P. Benoît Mailloux, O.P., 'Saint Thomas et les Juifs', extrait de la *Revue dominicaine*, Montréal, N.-D. de Grâce, L'Œuvre de Presse Dominicaine, 1935, 31p.]

(Comme la chrétienté médiévale est chose du passé, il ne faut pas chercher à la faire revivre dans toutes ses particularités. Contentons-nous de pénétrer de l'idée chrétienne nos institutions sociales. Catholiques d'aujourd'hui, travaillons à restaurer un ordre social chrétien, une nouvelle chrétienté. Ce langage plairait au génie novateur de S. Thomas d'Aquin 13. (13 Mailloux, *Ibid.*, p. 22.))

28. The Ottawa Parliament Hill plaque is found on the base of the northern flag-pole in front of the Centre Block.
29. " 'We beg you, and also wish and bid you, to reign over us.'
The King then says, [...]
'The word that I speak shall be my sword'..."
30.
 1. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, Philadelphia, 1776.
 2. Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man; being an answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution*, London, 1791. The second part of the work, appearing in 1792, led to an accusation of high treason against Paine. He was able to escape the consequences only by a timely escape to France.
31. Manifeste électoral du Peuple, *Mélanges*, t. 1, p. 191. Habituellement, il évite l'adjectif fraternel appliqué à la société ; mais il s'adapte ici au climat fraternitaire de février 48.
32. " The expression 'ethical state' or 'civil society' would thus mean that this 'image' of a state without a state was present to the greatest political and legal thinkers, in so far as they placed themselves on the terrain of pure science (pure utopia, since based on the premise that all men are really equal and hence equally rational and moral, i.e. capable of accepting the law spontaneously, freely, and not through coercion, as imposed by another class, as something external to consciousness)." *Ibid.*
33. sub-footnote; Marx, *Critique du programme de Gotha*, Pléiade, t. I, p. 1428, ou Pekin, Editions en Langues Etrangères, 1972, p. 25.
34. "Liberation of economics from capitalism! Liberation of society from the state!" Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, Michael E. Coughlin, St. Paul Minn., (1947) 1978, p. 535.

35. "In law it is primarily necessary to distinguish two forms: 'natural law' and so-called 'positive law'. A natural law exists where society has not yet been politically organized - before the state with its caste and class system has made its appearance. In this instance, law is the result of mutual agreements between men confronting one another as free and equal, motivated by the same interests and enjoying equal dignity as human beings. Positive law first develops within the political framework of the state and concerns men who are separated from one another by reason of different economic interests and who, on the basis of social inequality, belong to various castes and classes."

Rudolph Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

36. The similarity to Karl Marx's work *On the Jewish Question* is evident. Again the class composition is confused with the social order, which is that of an excluded nation living as a minority among various others nations. This Marx denied in himself and for the entire Jewish People while condescending to Jewish civil rights. Note Robert S. Wistrich's 'Karl Marx and the Jewish Question', *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, Vol. 4 #1, 1974.

37. See Solomon Ash for his literary work on the life of Rebbe Yehoshua ben Joseph. As social activist 'Jesus' left no writings that were preserved. As a result the Christian Bible contains a variety of accounts of his presentations and personal history that are oriented to the propagation of a religious ideology. The very term 'Christ' is taken from the Greek language to mean Messiah and adapted to such Hellenic legends as Hercules which provides the conception of a demi-deity.

38. This reference is reminiscent of the "guillotine" mentioned by Karl Marx, in his 1844 pamphlet 'The Jewish Question'.

The 'decomposition' of man into Jew and citizen, Protestant and citizen, religious man and citizen, is neither a deception directed

'against' citizenship, nor is it a circumvention of political emancipation, it is 'political emancipation itself', the 'political' method of emancipating oneself from religion. Of course, in periods when the political state as such is born violently out of civil society, when political liberation is the form in which men strive to achieve their liberation, the state can and must go as far as the 'abolition of religion', the '*destruction*' of religion. But it can do so only in the same way that it proceeds to the abolition of private property, to the maximum, to confiscation, to progressive taxation, just as it goes as far as the abolition of life, the 'guillotine'.

On-line, 'On The Jewish Question', Works of Karl Marx 1844, <
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/jewish-question/>
 >, Consulted October 19, 2014.

39. One may take note here of the actual beheading of the Jewish-American journalist David Pearl in Pakistan.

40. Separation comes back as an attribute in the critique of Zionism found in the fifth Chapter section 1.1, 'Zionism as exclusive nationalism'.

41. See David Horowitz "who suggests policy aims with regard to ethnic groups should include 'fragmentation, moderation, coalition, fluidity and proportionality' (p. 144) [*The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* by James G. Kellas, St. Martin's Press, New York,, 1991]" { The Fletcher Forum, *op.cit.*, p. 238}

42. "Under this same natural law, so long as this nation endures, all further revelations of the divine will also appear and be formed within it." *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

43. "In this sense - as the vehicle and the pledge of earthly eternity, and the interpretation of the eternal here - nation and fatherland far transcend the State in the ordinary sense of the term social organization, as this is conceived in its simple, clear connotation [...]" (Fichte, *op. cit.*, p.

76.)

44. In a personal experience while in Bonn, I was shocked to hear many people speaking a language so similar to my own 'Jiddish', so as to bring on the feeling of being in one's own culture. This experience leads me to conclude that language is an indication of shared common culture, but not necessarily of nationality.

45. ("some substitute for the union of civil society, i.e. on a free federation.")

46. Kamiläinen, *Nationalism [Problems Concerning the Word, the Concept and Classification]* (Jyväskylä 1964)] p. 105.

47. Masadiruha wa-Dawabituha

48. Annex D - Topology of Political Culture : Terms, Names and Concepts.

49. 1. G.W.F. Hegel, *Encyclopaedia der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, 2d. ed., Leipzig, 1905, p. 459.

50. 15. Marx & Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 89,90,91.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

51. Marx recognizes the civil society as an autonomous concept, *Gemeinschaft* under communism and dismisses any such concept as a 'substitute for community' or as an 'illusory community' in other circumstances. He nonetheless makes the differentiation;

By the mere fact that it is a class and no longer an estate, the bourgeoisie is forced to organize itself no longer locally, but nationally, and to give a general form to its mean average interest.

Through the emancipation of private property from the community, the State has become a separate entity, beside and outside civil society [...]

The German Ideology, (New York 1970), 80, in *The corporate elite, the capitalist class, and the Canadian state*, by Wallace Clement, *Part III: Class structure and state structure in The Canadian state : political economy and political power* edited by Leo Panitch, p. 227.

Note that the term 'nationally' is equated to the economic boundaries of the bourgeoisie economy's private property.

Sartre also refers to Marx in this respect;

In truth, the passage from Marx shows that he admirably understood the problem. Capital is opposed to society, he said. And yet it is a social power. The contradiction is explained by the fact that capital has become an 'object'. But this object, which is not a "social mean," but, on the contrary, an "antisocial reality," is maintained as such only to the extent that it is sustained and directed by the real and active power of the capitalist [...]

in *Search for a Method*, Vintage Books, 1968, p. 162.

52. 32. *Werke*, II, 611-614. Emphasis in original.

53. 34. Benedikt Kautsky (ed.), *Friedrich Engels' Briefwechsel mit Karl Kautsky*, Vienna, 1955, p. 50-53.

54. Sub-footnote: Der Briefwechsel zwischen 'arx und Engels, Stuttgart, 1913. Volume IV.

Found in *Socialism & State*, by Rudold Rocker, Rebel Worker Pamphlet 9, Montu Miller Press, Sydney, 1987, p. 9 (reprinted from Chapter 14,

Nationalism & Culture)

55. 1. Moses Hess, *Rom und Jerusalem*, Tel Aviv, 1935, p. 199.
56. The fetish of 'race' as being dominant over class is a prelude to the larger discussion on Zionism which is derived from that presupposition. This discussion is taken up in Chapter V - 'Jewish Nationalism and Zionist Ideology'.
57. The failing in this identification by with the nationalist ideology itself and its reflection in anarchist ideological treatments of the national identity is the manipulation made in the interests of the State by the proponents of its nationalism or patriotism. The nationalist ideology is merely a tool and not the essence of the State per se. The State is the sovereignty and seeks the propagation of its power over all other such States by definition while nationalism is merely oriented to the self-determination of a State without necessarily seeking its empire as well. Empire-building requires further attributes such as racism and theological pretensions to becoming the sole agent of the deity in the political process making for future events. See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 4.
58. 3. *Ibid.* [In Nationalism & Culture, Rudolf Rocker, éd. M.E. Coughlin] p. 201.
59. Godwin's *Political Justice*, 1793; William Thompson, John Grey, Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Fourier, *Social System*; Cabet's *Icarian communism*; Blanqui, Barbés, Babeuf, Louis Blanc, Pecqueur, Vidal, Bukharin's *Selected Writings on the State and the Transition to Socialism* are further sources.
60. As in the current constitutional amendment proposed in the USA to adopt the Christian theocratic definition of family.

61. The recent legal case, which sought the extradition of General Pinochet of Chile to Spain for a legal process in the murders of a number of Spanish citizens, had placed the sovereignty of Spain in contestation with that of Chile.

"Sovereignty, then, is not limited either in power, or in function or in length of time." *On Sovereignty : Four chapters from The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, by Jean Bodin, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 3

62. In this manner the Parti Québécois accepted the defeat of the referendum for Sovereignty-Association which gained 49.4% of the vote but not 50% plus one, even though about 92% of the eligible population turned out to vote..

63. As referred to by Kly; Riggs, 1995, p. 12.

64. see p. 96-97 of *The Constitution of the Five Nations or The Iroquois Book of the Great Law*, A.C. Parker, Iroquacrafts Ltd., Ohsweken (Ontario) Canada, (1967) 1984, reprint 1916. The terms 'confederate council' and 'the Confederation of the Five Nations' are explained by the note 2 of p. 97.

The term 'long house' as applied to the confederacy is not generally used by the Canadian Iroquois in their manuscript copies of the confederate laws and legends. A mistaken notion that the long house idea originated with Handsome Lake accounts for it. Newhouse used the term 'long house' in his earlier manuscripts but later erased it supplying the word 'confederacy.' He explained this by saying that he had heard an old man say that long house meant Handsome Lake's new religion, the thing that destroyed the knowledge of the old ways. Thus the term was tabooed in connection with the confederacy.

Further aspects may be considered, in respect to theocracies, centralism, power..

65. 7. Sigmund Freud, *Letters*, 1873-1933 (London), 1961, pp. 376-78.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

66. Kebek/Kébèk denotes the original Algonkin language pronunciation of the name for the Land abutting the great water passageways into the continent. Likewise in the Inuit language the term is written as Köbek. Such a designation serves to recognize that the Kébèkois people arose from the mixture of the original inhabitants of various nations together with the French settlers, and that the Land originally was the base of the indigenous society originally named in the native language.

67. As in the current Canadian Supreme Court proceedings, the State imposed national status of Canadian is counterpoised to the existence of aboriginal peoples, a Québécois people, English-Canadian people and an Acadian people as argued by the counsel André Joli-Coeur. ('Sovereignist argument wrong, Canadians people, Ottawa says', by Janice Tibbetts, Canadian Press, Toronto, Globe & Mail, 14/03/1998, p. A6)

68. 8. [...] *Povorotnyi Punkt v Istorii Evreiskogo Rabochego, Dvizheniia* [A turning point in the history of the Jewish workers' movement] (Geneva, 1900)...

69. 10. O. Bauer, *Die Nationenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, Vienna, 1907, p. 353.

70. 58. O. Bauer, 'Bemerkungen zur Nationalitätenfrage', *Neue Zeit*, XXVI, Bd. 1 (1907-1908), p. 793.

71. 11. Patkin, *The Origins of the Russian-Jewish Labour Movement*, p. 145; also, *Di Geshichte fun Bund*, 1:180-81.

72. The 'Pale of Settlement' was the territory in White Russia and the Ukraine to which the Jewish People of Czarist Russia were restricted. In order for Jewish people to reside in any other region a special permit was required. The Jewish Bund organization puts forward the claim that a Bolshevik promise was made in 1905 to grant this territory as an autonomous territorial homeland. During the Nazi occupation of eastern Europe, the Jewish Partisan resistance maintained control over a portion of this region.

73. Footnote 3, Dubnow's *History*, Chapter II.

74. Footnote 4, Dubnow's *History*, Chapter II.

75. 6. Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the Nation-Colonial Question*, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 20.

76. This relatively unexplored history of the revolutionary wave of 1926-27 and the role of the Chinese Communist Party provides an elaboration of political history which is necessarily more accurate, being a relatively recent experience of historical theory and practice. Elaborations are available in the doctoral essay carried out at York University. That is, the; *The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27*, course work with Prof. Jerome Chen.

77. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

78. The prison notes of Erlich are still found in the NKVD archives in Moscow, in Yiddish, untranslated and unpublished. These 163 pages are the consequence of the interrogator's questions answered in written Yiddish format.

79. 22. Trotsky *Vtoroi S'ezd RSDRP.*

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

80. 24. Medem *Fun Mein Leben*, [From My Life] p. 172.
 25. Abramovich *In Tsvei Revolutsies*, [In Two Revolutions] 1:302;
 also
 B. Michalevich *Zichrones fun a Yidishen Sotsialist*
 [Memories of a Jewish Socialist] Warsaw,
 1929, 3:138; and Bagrov [David
 Zaslavsky]
 and
 Levi [A. Litvak] *Bei di Bregen fun Temze* (Vilna, 1907), p.
 19.
 26. *Pis'ma P.B. Aksel'roda i Yu. O. Martova*, p. 201.

81. Hannah Arendt presents a critique of Universalism as being parallel to the assimilationist mode of thought although she tends to adopt a similar stance, especially with respect to Marx's *On the Jewish Question* (see page 34 of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*). The description of a "perversion of equality from a political into a social concept" is indicative (see page 54 of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*).

82. 5. Lenin, 'Polozhenie Dunda v Partii' (The position of the Bund in the party), *Iskra*, no. 51, 22 October 1903.
 6. Karl Kautsky, 'Rasse und Judentum' (Race and Judaism), *Neue Zeit*, 20 October 1914.

83. 'Counter Draft Resolution on Israel and the Arab Revolution', by Berta Langston, Bob Langston and Jon Rothchild, *Socialist Workers Party Discussion Bulletin*, New York, Vol. 29, No. 10, June, 1971. Further documentation on discussions concerning nationalism are listed in the Bibliography.

84. 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 403-4. L. Trotsky, 'Evreskii Vopros', (The Jewish problem), *Kievskaiia Mysl'*, nos. 226, 229, 230 (1913), later collected in vol. 4 of his works, 1926, pp. 402-11.

85. 20. See, for instance, *The Communist Manifesto*, part 1;

'The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history.'

21. Describing the beginnings of the Bund in Vilna, Martov characteristically stated that 'among the leading group before my time there was not a single worker'; the social background of the traditional artisans was tied up with the local industrial capitalism; *Zapiski Sotsial-Demokrata*, pp. 200-2.

86. The Hegelian distinction between Form and Content is considered in the Introduction.

87. * Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 18 January 1937.

88. Baruch Knei-Paz, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, p. 551.

20. John G. Wright's papers, The Archives of the Socialist Workers Party, New York.

89. The best definition of the concept 'social relations of production' can be found in *Wage, Labor and Capital*. Marx writes; 'In production, men not only act upon nature, but also upon one another. They produce only to the extent that they collaborate in a determinate way and reciprocally exchange their own activities. In order to produce, they enter in determinate ties and relations, and their action upon nature - production - takes place only within the

frame of reference of these ties and social relations.'

(Colletti, mimeograph, p. 7.)

90. During a debate with the Jewish Group of the IVth International section the Communist League of France in 1932, Bronstein denounced their withdrawal from its Executive Committee in the following terms;

The situation becomes even more complicated by the fact that you recall Felix and Foucs not in the name of any faction, or any local organization, but in the name of a 'national' group. You thereby transform the League into a federation of national groups. This is the structure of the Bund (49) attempted to introduce into the Russian party. As far back as 1903, not only the Bolsheviks but even the Mensheviks (50) considered such an arrangement incompatible with the fundamentals of revolutionary-proletarian organization. You are introducing Bundism into the ranks of the Left Opposition. The Left Opposition would only be preparing its own destruction if it were to tolerate such a state of affairs for even a day.

'Reply to the Jewish Group in the Communist League of France' 48, January 15, 1932, *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1932]*, New York, Pathfinder, 1973, pp. 26-27.

Nonetheless in 1939 the national orientation was transformed for him;

But the independence of a United Ukraine would mean the separation of Soviet Ukraine from the USSR, the 'friends' of the Kremlin will exclaim in chorus. What is so terrible about that? - we reply. The fervid worship of state boundaries is alien to us. We do not hold the position of a 'united and indivisible' whole. After all, even the constitution of the USSR acknowledges the right of its component federated peoples to self-determination, that is, to

separation. [...]

'The Ukrainian Question/The Problem of the Ukraine', *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1938-39]*, New York, Pathfinder, (1969) 1974, p. 305.

Further still he distanced himself from the past;

The Second International, expressing the interests of the labour bureaucracy and aristocracy of the imperialist states, completely ignored the Ukrainian question. Even its left wing did not pay the necessary attention to it. Suffice it to recall that Rosa Luxemburg, for all her brilliant intellect and genuinely revolutionary spirit, found it possible to declare that the Ukrainian question was the invention of a handful of intellectuals. [...]

Ibid., p. 301.

91. 'In the summer of 1922, disagreements arose in the Bolshevik Party over the manner in which Moscow controlled the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Federation. Stalin was in the process of drafting a new constitution which was much more centralistic than its 1918 predecessor, and which would curtail the rights of the non-Russian nationalities and transform the Soviet Federation of republics into a Soviet Union, a step that was vigorously opposed by the Georgians and the Ukrainians. Lenin supported Stalin at this time; it was not until December 1922, after Lenin had received the report of an independent fact-finding commission he had sent to Georgia, that he changed his opinion on the Georgian events, arguing that the rights of the Georgians, Ukrainians, and other non-Russian nationalities took precedence over the needs of administrative centralization that Stalin evoked. Lenin expressed his opinions in the article 'On the National Question and 'Autonomization' ', in his *Collected Works*, vol. 36. It is contained in *Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism* [Pathfinder]. (*Ibid.*, p. 413, Endnote # 297)

The proposed constitution of Stalin follows the directive adopted in the Theses on the Nation Question adopted in the III Congress of the International, which was supported by most at the time. In a previous incident, Bronstein opposed but obeyed Lenin's order to proceed with the invasion of Poland, until the Red Army met its first major defeat on the way to 'Warszawa' in 1919.

92. 64. Lenin, Memo of Dec. 31, 1922, as quoted in *New York Times*, July 1, 1956; also in Nat. & Kol. Nat. Frage, pp. 653-654.

93. See Cheikh Anta Diop;

L'Afrique Noire précoloniale : Etude comparée des systèmes politiques et sociaux de l'Europe et de l'Afrique Noire, de l'Antiquité à la formation des Etats modernes; and references in Nasim Awan's < NASIM.AWAN@mira.co.uk >, *The Islamic view of Africans and origins of African slavery*, (Friday, 31 October 1997 11:35:28 direct submission to Muslim Students' Association MSA NEWS < msanews@faith.mynet.net >; *The histories, Book 6'* (~5th century BC/ACE) by Herodotus; *Black Athena - The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization - Volume 1*, by Martin Bernal.

94. 33. *Ibid.*, M. Bakunin, "Aufruf an die Slawen," *Zwei Schriften aus den 40er Jahren des XIX, Jahrhunderts*, Internationale Bibliothek für Philosophie, Bd II, Nr. 11-12, Prague, 1936, p. 27.

95. 58. *Ibid.*, C. Desmond Greaves, *The Life and Times of James Connolly*, London, 1961, p. 285.

96. see Auerbach, *Mimesis*, p. 64.

' 'simultaneously' something which has always been, and will be fulfilled in the future; and strictly, in the eyes of God, it is something eternal, something omnitemporal, something already consummated in the realm of fragmentary earthly event.'

97. "It views time as something close to what Benjamin calls Messianic time, a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present."

33. Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 265.

98. 10. *The Struggle for Power*, 1915

99. Dubnow's Russian original refers to Matthias Acher who formulated the distinction between 'Machtnationalismus' and 'Kulturnationalismus', *Voskhod*, 1906, no. 2, p. 36.

100. As Ernest Renan put it;

Je me résume, Messieurs. L'homme n'est esclave ni de sa race, ni de sa langue, ni de sa religion, ni du cours des fleuves, ni de la direction des chaînes de montagnes. Une grande agrégation d'hommes, saine d'esprit et chaude de coeur, crée une conscience morale qui s'appelle une nation. Tant que cette conscience morale prouve sa force par les sacrifices qu'exige l'abdication de l'individu au profit d'une communauté, elle est légitime, elle a le droit d'exister.

op. cit., pp. 905 - 906.

101. See Proudhon's *The Principle of Federation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

During the early 1790s the representatives from the Gironde served as the nucleus for the moderate opposition to the Jacobins. It is doubtful that any of the 'Girondins' were in any real sense federalists, but their constituency was provincial rather than Parisian. The provincial revolts which they fo(r)mented against the Jacobins in May and June 1793 were termed 'insurrections fédéralistes'.

Note by translator Richard Vernon.

102. Reg Whitaker emphasizes that,

The nation and the state were not coterminous concepts in Canadian discourse. The concept of cultural nationality and the concept of political or state sovereignty were distinct and analytically separate.

'Images of the state in Canada', pp. 28-70, *The Canadian state : political economy and political power*, Leo Panitch (ed.), Toronto and Buffalo, University of Toronto Press,, 1977, p. 48.

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2.1 Premise

We should expect that the conclusion to the development of political discourse shall result in a self-evident awareness. Such a developed theorem would serve to clarify differences in perspective and so peacefully resolve those divergences, fostered by the method in ideology, which seeks to entrench such a polarized outlook. The clarity which is the resultant of such an endeavour is the consequence of meeting the mutual needs of those concerned with the matter which is to be discussed, rather than the preconceived needs fostered by an isolated comprehension. Here is a proposal offering a development which seems self-evident in its fundamental principle and which is found as an operative principle amongst different writers of various epochs and social contexts.

There is no need to pose the matter of the Nation as a question at all, and one may simply examine the right to national identification in and of itself, by declaring that the apparent validity of national identity exists in itself. A People taking consciousness of itself acquires a right to their identity as a consequence. As Daniel Turp puts it,

[T]he U.N. Charter, the Declaration on Friendly Relations and the International Human Rights Covenants do not define the notion of people. This has led certain authors to assimilate the notion of people to that of a State and to make the latter, rather than the peoples that make up the State, the holder of the right to self-determination. [...]
] A common language, culture and religion play a determining role

in the emergence of such a process of self-definition, but the collective desire to live together helps better define a People.¹

In this manner 'the question' dissolves. Thus in reciprocity to the existence of any one nation, any other nation may exist and be recognized as such.

This problematic in national conflict is often presented as 'the national question' (as in the sense of seeking a solution to the actuality of national-identity). Thus the matter of national consciousness/identity is presented as a question; posing the issue as if such a phenomenon could have a questionable existence, as an adjective. The presence and appeal of national identity are considered problems in themselves, based in the presumption that the rise of national movements corresponds to and leads to the increase of violent confrontations and chauvinistic repression, as if, equating these social dysfunctions with national consciousness as a causal factor was validated by an empirical observation. UNESCO typically represents the term 'nationalism' to refer to both exclusive and inclusive tendencies of national consciousness and national-identity while associating all such tendencies with racism;

[...] the last decade of the Twentieth century is experiencing the recurrence of the most serious human rights violations, caused by the rise of nationalism, racism, xenophobia, sexism and religious intolerance. [...] The rise of nationalism and intolerance, mentioned above, calls for special and anticipatory educational strategies aimed

¹ Yussuf N. Kly, 'Discussion Paper, African Americans and The Right to Self-Determination', pp. 4-44, *Hamline Law Review*, p. 35, Proceedings of the Conference on African-Americans and the Right to Self-Determination, Saint Paul, Minnesota, Hamline University School of Law, Volume 17, Fall 1993, Number 1.

at preventing the outbreak of violent conflicts and human rights violations related to it.²

In the discussion of the 'problem', posed by 'the question of the nation', there is the inherent intent to seek a solution to this matter by devising the means by which that national entity may be dissolved, assimilated or destroyed. If these options were not possible, then resorting to manipulation and exploitation is considered as an alternative. If, however, one were to sift-out the social needs involved, then another direction could be substituted, that is, the prospect of simply seeking to fulfill that which is identity, mutually.

It appears though that an 'inherent intent' found in the national 'question' contains an ideological component that remains unexamined; the ideology of a perspective exclusively committed to an external social structure. Such an ideological position, formulated as a panacea, is directed at the national-identity of 'the other' alone, in the quest to overcome wars between nations. This idealistic perspective conceives of the appearance of the 'other's' national identity as the source or cause of the pathological tendencies in current human consciousness, and in the ethnocentric consciousness itself. Without recognizing the nature of national consciousness in its own culture - as if the identity of the self were natural and that of the other was a fabrication - such a formalist perception leads to the belief that the conflicting national identity is appropriately just cause ('*causa bellum*') for the actual act of aggression as a response. From such a perspective, the existence of another counterpoised national consciousness may thus be considered threatening, while approaching the matter from such an exclusive perspective. Thus the one

² UNESCO, 'World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy', *International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy*, UNESCO Centre for Human Rights, United Nations Office at Geneva, Montreal, 8-11 March 1993, pp. 2-3.

exclusive consciousness seeks to delegitimize 'the other', as a national identity. The perceived threat of the existence of another people, a threat that may be based in whole or in part in the projection of its own fear/hostility onto the other, is much like the paranoiac tendencies analysed in individualistic psychoanalytic methodology. Unfortunately, there is a bilateral interaction feeding upon itself in this context; this is the nature of the ideological construction that assumes the impossibility of co-existence as based in the empirical historical evidence of its own perspective alone.

In conforming to the tendencies of an exclusive nationalism among its historical neighbours, the national ideology can rationalize itself and its actions. 'A State like other States', as is imbedded in the Zionist version of "A Nation like other Nations"³, intentionally leads to the exclusion of 'the Other'. The example of Zionist ideology is represented in this respect by the former Prime Minister of the State of Israel and leader of the Irgun Zava'i Leumi, Menachem Begin who wrote in self-justification that,

The conceptions of State, Government, Army, which we have propagated for years in the face of the denial and derision from those very persons who today appear to be intoxicated by the idea of the State, have become the Jewish people's most cherished dreams.⁴

Naturally this ideological proposition propagates itself once more as a tendency amongst the 'Other' People, which will similarly tend to replicate the factors with which it is faced in seeking a State for itself, by a reciprocal

³ Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism : A Study in its origins and background*, Toronto, Collier Books, (c 1944) 1969 , p. 39.

⁴ Menachem Begin, *The Revolt*, New York, Dell Publishing, ((c) 1951) 1978, p. 434.

justification. Such tendencies then lend themselves to being exploited as a rationale for the exclusivity of that 'other' ideology. In this manner Holy Wars may be propagated for exclusionist ends, such as the Zionist 'Milchuma Mitzva', the Christian 'Crusade'/'Holy War' or the Muslim 'Jihad', while assuming the cloak of self-defence.

Considering that the inherent alienation of the ideological underpinnings may thus put a People into question by the denial of their national identity, the 'national question' itself must be considered questionable. At the basis of the habitual interpretation to this question of national identity is the presumption of denying the existence of a nation, and consequently the consciousness of its existence (national identity). The question of the nation is not posed by the nation per se, since any entity would not ordinarily question its own existence and survival. In effect this 'question' puts the matter in reverse, since it requires proof of the existence of some entity that is presented as nonexistent a priori, so being a contradiction in itself. Since the 'question' is itself self-contradictory, it is thus annulled. The nature of 'the question' furthermore assumes a context which denies proof of national existence by its presumption of initial rejection, and so appears as an ideological construction. The ideological underpinning to the hostile treatment of national identity is not merely the property of a single ideology but is a methodology contained in the midst of such unlikely partners as Marxism, Liberalism and Anarchism.

National identity, being composed of elemental desires and capabilities, seeks a permanent association in the form of a community that forms a matrix of relations amongst itself because of the ability to communicate to a greater degree of precision than with other communities of thought. Such an identity, if it considers itself a Nation, must necessarily consider its self-perpetuation

and self-replication a priority. There are also many instances of dual identity practised, as various national communities are found to coexist within the same social entity. Those communities which have developed a national identity with other such communities would be considered nationalities, even while they are living amongst a given national culture with which they may have chosen to become acculturized. And while each nation is unique, it need not be considered exclusive. This very situation holds true within parallel national phenomena such as the Jewish People worldwide. The recognition of dual nationality becomes as natural as dual citizenship is considered to be. This may be referred to as poly-ethnicity and this is the basis of the perpetuation of the Jewish People.

Whether any community considers itself a nation does not depend on any one factor, such as a common territory, but is merely a consequence of the intermingling of factors in a state of spontaneous transformation, otherwise known as 'l'hazard', that is, probability/chaos. Such a process may or may not be conscious. However, at the very least, territory, or any single factor, or set of factors, is not a sufficient basis for the development or definition of a nation. Otherwise, living in such proximity, the Palestinians and the Israelis would be expected to form a common Semitic nation, which seems unlikely.

2.2 Rationalizations

The ideological presumptions to the 'national question' are varied and suspect, considering that the existence of national consciousness does not support or correspond to any one ideological premise. National-identity and ideology are actually counterpoised, and by its nature national consciousness tends to be an affront and a challenge to ideological systems of thought in

general. While the ideological system of thought is deterministic (causal), consciousness is spontaneous and unpredictable.

2.2.1 Linear Periodisation

The authoritative interpretation of the matter is that; generally, if a given nation already exists as a country, then that nation has exercised its self-determination, and as such has expressed a principle which upholds and sustains the existence of this particular nation. Such a tautology is a rationalization for the status quo and a rationalization for the perpetuation of a standing military apparatus set to defend that actuality. The development of national entities during the period of emergence from feudalism is the historicist rationalization for the presence of the European powers while at the same time denying/opposing the prior and subsequent emergence of other national cultures. This is the exclusionary face of national consciousness whose identifying image is that of the State. Hegel represents the epitome of such thought as a stage of history.⁵ If a particular Nation historically has established an authority, then any other national culture which counterpoises itself to that authority is considered to be in violation of the former Nation's sovereignty expressed as it's right to self-determination, as a principle. In this manner a right to self-determination is established as an absolute principle. However, this 'principle' has a very restricted scope encompassing those established nations of a certain period (a stage in historical development). This was the prevalent view of 19th Century European political thought, including Karl Marx who practised the historical methodology of linear Periodisation. This

⁵ Thierry Hentsch, *Imagining the Middle East*, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1992, pp. 144, 168.

formalist methodology, based in the notion of progress, assumes a general progression of history as an inherent and inevitable force which propels undeveloped societies to duplicate the historical economic model provided by the relatively prosperous social formations. The sense of inevitability is built upon the power to extract capital externally from the periphery of its influence as well as internally from class exploitation and the benefits of internal colonialism, as in slavery, and internal imperialism; as in the relative disparities of the economic orders. Power justifies itself by its own operative criteria. Edward Said makes reference to this phenomenon;

We are still the inheritors of that style by which one is defined by the nation, which in turn derives its authority from a supposedly unbroken tradition. [...] American identity is too varied to be a unitary and homogenous thing; indeed the battle within it is between advocates of a unitary identity and those who see the whole as a complex but not reductively unified one. This opposition implies two different perspectives, two historiographies, one linear and subsuming, the other contrapuntal and often nomadic.⁶

Examples of such linear methodology abound, from the Zionist refusal to recognize the Palestinian Arab Nation; Canada's to recognize the Kébék nation, Indonesia's refusal of East Timor, Mexico's refusal of Chiapas, Serbia's refusal of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosova, Russia's negation of Chechnya, and the generalized refusal to recognize the Jewish People as a Nation, apart from the Zionist State.

2.2.2 Formalist Criterion

⁶ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage Books, 1994, p. xxv.

With the persistence of 'the national question', posed by the presence of national movements during periods of revolutionary ferment, a criterion for the definition of a Nation was established which furthered the rationalization of countries which could be accommodated by the state structures which had been established previously. The right to self-determination ('selbsemancipatie' rather than 'autoemancipatie') became entrenched in those nations who had established a prior existence. In this vein Joseph Stalin's criteria became the most commonly held definition according to the formal logic of point criteria; a common territory-language-religion, et cetera. Such criteria served to demarcate only those nations which were recognized in those zones in which the Nation-States had established themselves. Where such claims were proposed in zones already claimed, war was the frequent result.

2.2.3 Social Engineering

The interpretation the Leninist-Painist right of self-determination by the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson altered the status quo in that modifications could be made in response to crises, but only those modifications which were agreeable to a consensual decision of the established state powers.

In this forum [League of Nations], U.S. President Woodrow Wilson helped popularize the expression 'the right of self-determination', which had been coined by Karl Marx.⁽¹⁷⁾ Wilson and his contemporaries, however, never envisaged its use on a non-European scale where⁽¹⁸⁾₂, as we shall see, Marx's concept of self-determination was to be applied on a global scale and play an important role in the U.S.S.R.'s global strategy, especially after

World War II.⁷

17 Although Marx was an internationalist, he recognized the strategic and moral value of aligning the communist movement with national aspirations. The term 'right of self-determination' appeared for the first time in the Marxist Proclamation on the Polish Question.

18 The Wilsonian application of the doctrine concerned minorities of the Austrian-Hungarian, German and Ottoman empires, and certain peoples who would otherwise be part of the U.S.S.R. .

2.2.4 The Class Criterion

The lack of a differentiation between the Nation as a People as opposed to a State institution is a fundamental flaw to any precise consideration of the issue. It is rarely invoked despite a certain general appreciation of its presence. The same situation continues to be maintained in the contribution of Maxime Rodinson *Nation and Ideology*⁸, whose linear conception of 'ethnic-national ideologies' and then state structures, leads him to believe that national identity is a myth. The standard interpretation by Marxist thought on 'the national question' is currently provided by E.J. Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*⁹ which falters entirely on the proposition that the Nation is given expression solely by a State superstructure.

The lack of distinction between ideology and national identity

⁷ Y.N. Kly, *International Law and the Black Minority in the U.S.*, Atlanta, Georgia, Clarity International, (1985) 1990, p. 11.

⁸ Maxime Rodinson, *Nation and Ideology*

⁹ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 191

overlooks the deeply rooted political culture associated with a People's culture in general which has formulated a way of thinking and a manner of expression; a consciousness. The collective consciousness denies the supremacy of socio-economic orientations which are often thought to be fundamental to all forms of consciousness, notwithstanding the long held proposition for the abolition of class segregation.

Rodinson's criticism of national consciousness is based on the assumption that conflict is inevitably generated by this 'ideology' and its drive to construct a competitive state formation. However no consideration is given to the mutual recognition and respect being proclaimed throughout the world by one nation for another and the mutual aid this engenders. This consideration then comprises the concept of Inter-Nationals, as opposed to 'Universalism'. Without such a recognition we would have to reduce social existence to a Hobbesque nightmare of a war of each against all.

Having defined nationalism as ethnic-nation ideology, Rodinson came to define Zionist ideology as Jewish national identity. This is, in effect, equivalent to the Zionist ideology itself which claims the mantle of the Jewish people as a whole and assumes the right to represent the interests of this entire People.

The Leninist right to 'self-determination' arbitrarily defined national phenomena as bourgeois in its established format and petit-bourgeois in its aspiring form, according such movements the right to self-determination in the abstract without necessarily granting the movement either consent, support or acquiescence. The Leninist orientation to such a movement remained dependent upon the nature of the ideological leadership of that nation. It was assumed that with the ascendance of the working class in the national

formation, that the workers' revolution would deny the national identity of the other classes in society and would furthermore reject the nation in favour of the universal solidarity of the class interests from which it arose. Accordingly, the class concept was counterpoised to that of the Nation. National identity, identified as nationalism, as a consequence is treated as a false-consciousness, an illusion.¹⁰

2.2.5 Social-democratic Reformism

On the other hand, Albert Memmi, a Tunisian Arabic Jewish writer, provides a lucid defence of the existence of the Jewish people or nation as such, as opposed to the notion that the Jewish people belong either to the confines of a Jewish religion or a secular 'universalist' world culture. The Jewish population, Memmi argues, is a People in view of three facts; they bear a 'sense of Jewishness', a sense of Peoplehood, being self-conscious as Jewish beyond their participation in a common religion; their unity is further ensured as victims of a common oppression, given the stereotypical name of Anti-Semitism/Antisemitism; and that their lives are infused with a multiplicity of elements of a common culture.

Memmi therefore proclaims the right of national liberation for the Jewish people, however he does so in the form of Zionism, (as a left-Zionist, he favours a socialist mode of government, but places the struggle for socialism as a secondary, post-State struggle).

¹⁰ V.I. Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism and Imperialism*, New York, International Publishers, 1968.

What is not considered by this author is a territorial autonomy option for Arabic Jews apart from the State of Israel alone. Not only is this a blind spot in Memmi's thinking, but it presents a problem with respect to Jewish people other than in the State of Israel. That Zionist state is still presented as the only possible territorial homeland. Perhaps Memmi's dissociation of national and social liberation leads him to such a near-sighted perspective, which leaves aside the further choice of national-cultural autonomy and ignores the desire of many Jewish people who strive to remain in their countries of residence.

Furthermore, Memmi uses the notion of 'specificity' of conditions to support his argument for exclusive territorial national liberation, based on the collectivity of the Jewish People. However, the Jewish 'specificity' of conditions should also be considered in relation to other dominated peoples trapped in a variety of situations in one or another poly-national state (such as the Palestinian People). Placed in that framework one can draw upon the developing international human rights law as it applies to auto-determination in its varying degrees, ranging from willing assimilation to territorial independence/autonomy, for a solution of the national problems of Jewish people wherever they may be.

The recognition of national minorities in existing state formations according to the international human rights provisions is embodied in the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as a general principle in Article 27 which states;

In those states in which ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.¹¹

There is no need to pose the matter of national identity as a question, and one may merely examine the right to auto-determination in and of itself by declaring that the apparent validity of auto-determination exists in itself; by a people taking consciousness of itself, thus acquiring a right of autonomous determination in consequence. In this manner, 'the question' dissolves. In reciprocity to the existence of any one nation, any other nation may exist.

2.3 Hypothesis

As in any methodological impasse, the illusory antinomies of national conflict are subsumed by a breakthrough based in a fundamental realignment of concepts. In this process, the perspective is inverted to reverse the direction of the hierarchical emission of authority in order to annul the monopoly of power. A social entity is examined from within rather than from an alienated external, and so extraneous, void which is actually another national perspective.

The failure and the loss of a 'principle of self-determination' is due to its lack of symmetry, being in the form of an absolute (as a principle) in isolation, without a relative context.

¹¹ Y.N. Kly, *International Law and the Black minority in the U.S.*, Clarity International, Atlanta (1985) 1990, p. 6.

This interpretation of self-determination arises from the viewpoint provided by the Statist perspective that requires its principle of sovereignty, a principle that in logical consequence insists upon its own absolute security as an expression of its exclusive self-determination. The result of this inference is that a State formation must be continuously prepared to wage war with the intention of defeating any other power that threatens its own sovereign will, that is, which may have the same intention as itself. By its own definition of security, the State ideology is trapped into replicating and contributing to its own insecurity since it provokes the reciprocal response on the part of any other State formation. The centralized authority of the State apparatus serves to regard Society as a homogenized and unified nation best suited to the perpetuation of the State apparatus itself.

2.3.1 The Nature of the Nation

The definition of the nation is found in the body of international law where one may find much to be adopted from the work of the U.N. Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,³ in terms that form a precedent in Jurisprudence:

[...] the term 'minority' may be taken to refer to: a group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members, being nationals of the State, possess ethnic, racial, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language [...] Extent of the subjective factor involved is the extent to which the desire, whether expressed or not, of the ethnic, religious or linguistic group to preserve its own characteristics, constitutes a factor relevant to the definition of the term 'minority'. Whether the number of persons belonging to the

ethnic, religious or linguistic group is relevant depends on whether it is sufficiently numerous for it to be practical for the country concerned to maintain minority institutions. ...

In general, ethnic minority refers to categories of the population which distinguish themselves or are distinguished by the majority groups as differing in acquired behavioral characteristics of culture. (75)

75 See General Assembly Resolution E/CN.4/Sub.2/103: (Kly, *op cit.*, p. 151.)

Recognizing that there exist in many States distinctive population groups possessing racial, religious, linguistic or cultural characteristics different from those of the rest of the population, usually know as minorities.¹²

2.3.1.1 Nation and 'Race'

The substitution of the term 'race' for Nation over the course of the nineteenth century's political literature poses the need to clarify one from the other. This is the reason why the initial work of the United Nations Organization Sub-Commission focussed on the topic.

Ethnic minority may be said to refer to cultural minorities in the broadest sense, and although the terms racial and ethnic have often been used to mean the same, in international law, they are seen as being quite different. One of the first resolutions of the General Assembly (Resolution E/CN.4/Sub.2/103) to recognize the existence of minorities in certain countries used the term racial to

¹² Kly, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 33.

refer to ethnic minorities. However, during the Sub-Commission discussion, it was pointed out that the word 'ethnic' was more appropriate as it referred to all biological, cultural and historical characteristics, whereas 'racial' referred only to inherited physical characteristics. (76) Also, in this connection the 1949 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide uses the term 'ethnic' to cover cultural, physical and historical characteristics of a group. (77)

The distinction between racial and cultural is clarified in U.N. Docs. E/CN.4/Sub.2/SR.48 and E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/Add 2. The former state:

Whereas race is strictly a question of 'heredity', culture is essentially one of 'tradition' in the broadest sense, which included the formal training of the young in a body of knowledge or a creed, the inheriting of customs or attitudes from previous generations, the borrowing of techniques or fashions from other countries, the spread of opinions through propaganda or conversation, the adoption - or 'selling' - of new products or devices, or even the circulation of legends or jests by word of mouth. (78)

U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/2 states:

As culture then comprehends all that is inherited or transmitted through society, it follows that its individual elements are proportionately diverse. They include not only beliefs, knowledge, sentiments and literature (illiterate peoples often have an immensely rich oral literature), but also the language or other systems of symbols which are their vehicles. Other elements are the rules of kinship, methods of education, forms of government, and all the fashions followed in social relations. Gestures, bodily attitudes and even facial expressions. Such things that are acquired by the community through education or

imitation. (79)¹³₄

Edward Said in his *Culture and Imperialism* makes reference to such writers as W.E.B. Du Bois *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) and Tagore *Nationalism* (1917), "India's answer, he said, must be to provide not a competing nationalism, but a creative solution to the divisiveness produced by racial consciousness₅"¹⁴.

2.3.1.2 Nationality and Ethnicity

Even then the term 'ethnic' never accomplished the purpose for which it was adopted. The terminology which rests upon a criteria of culture alone and not the consciousness that is associated with such a culture, loses its effect. Such was the fate of resolution 520F (XVI) of August 3, 1953 of the Economic and Social Council which recommended that,

in the preparation of any international treaties, decisions of international organs or other acts which establish new States or new boundary lines between States, special attention should be paid to the protection of any minority which may be created thereby.¹⁵

As a result of this declaration, resolution 181 (II) on the future government of Palestine, as well as resolution 390 (V) on the Statute of the City of Jerusalem approved by the Trusteeship Council on April 4, 1950, provided for minority protection, but the actual result was no protection at all.

¹³ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ Edward Said, *op cit.*, p. 215.

¹⁵ Kly, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948 itself does not have any reference to the collective rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities.

[...] early in 1948 the General Assembly rejected a proposal by the representative of the Soviet Union that the following paragraph be included in the Declaration:

Every people and every nationality within a State shall enjoy equal rights. State laws shall not permit any discrimination whatsoever in this regard. National minorities shall be guaranteed the right to use their native language and to possess their own national schools, libraries, museums and other cultural and educational institutions.(118)¹⁶

¹⁶ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2.3.2 Self-Determination and Statism

International law is deliberately confused on the right of a People to self-determination. The term 'People' itself is often ambiguously defined in Human Rights conventions as meaning a State or a Nation. One can refer to Article I of the 1954 Human Rights Conventions, which considers that all 'Peoples' have the right to self-determination.¹⁷ Some commentators do include national minorities in the context of the term 'People'¹⁸; however, current international law is written to Statist specifications, although recognition of emerging national minorities is possible, if only for the reason that it has already been achieved in a number of instances.

Instead of the rights of national-minorities, it is the sovereignty of the State which is entrenched in several human rights instruments such as the 'non-intervention clause'. Article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter which specifies:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter [...]¹⁹.

The provision for "settlement" is contained in its Chapter VII; action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression. In practice General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of December 4, 1960 on the right to self-determination, Article 2, states;

¹⁷ Kly, *op. cit.*, # 135, p. 154.

¹⁸ Kly, *op. cit.*, # 136, p. 154

¹⁹ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.²⁰

However, Article 6 of the same resolution reads;

Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.²¹,

so nullifying the previous provision.

The Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation (UNESCO) similarly upholds the integrity of the 'Nation-State' while providing a token option for national self-determination;

Each culture has a dignity and value which must be respected and preserved. [...] Every people has the right and duty to develop its culture. [...] [while] In their cultural relations, states shall bear in mind the principles of the United Nations. In seeking to achieve international cooperation, they shall respect the sovereign equality of states and shall refrain from intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any states.(138),²²

The 'mots clés' found here, "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any states", offer the only avenue of manoeuvre. Yussuf Kly notes,

Thus the conventions, covenants and declarations promoting the right

²⁰ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²¹ Kly, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

²² Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

to self-determination can only be provoked if, after peacefully attempting to arrange for equal status relations within the context of national unity, the majority ethny fails or refuses to comply, and a crisis with international ramifications results. [...] Once a crisis results from the state not following the general principle, the matter is no longer essentially within the domestic jurisdiction because the state has voluntarily subjected or limited its sovereignty under international treaty with the U.N. .²³

Subrata Roy Chowdhury, Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India, considers that the right to self-determination is contained in the October 24, 1970 General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.²⁴

In his book *From Empire to Nation*, Rupert Emerson voices the minority opinion that self-determination in the U.N. Charter is not only a legal right, but that it also applies to minorities:

The crux of the matter in a plural society is that it is not one people which is determining itself but two or more, and it should not be ignored that the United Nations Charter speaks in the same breath of self-determination and of the equal rights of peoples. If they are actually to be equal, then the subordination of one to another is evidently ruled out. As the international system has been built on the doctrine of equality of states, so likewise nations may assert themselves as separate and ultimate entities which cannot legitimately be subjected to the action of

²³ Kly, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

²⁴ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

majorities which they regard as alien.²⁵

Thus, Article 27 of the *Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* is “the most basic and universally accepted general principle of international law in relation to national minorities”.²⁶

2.3.3 Auto-Determination and Autonomy

The limitations of the right to self-determination in the statist context are evident. Accordingly one is obliged to change the context in order to treat the nature of national minorities in their actuality.

Here in this, Chapter V: Jewish Nationalism and Zionist Ideology, sections 2.2 and 3.1.2, present the method of ‘National-Cultural Autonomy’ as a means by which a poly-national society forms its inter-nationals relations. Otto Bauer's proposal for national-cultural autonomy derives from the experience of Austria, in that Article 19 of the Austrian Constitutional Law of December 21, 1867 states;

All the ethnic minorities of the State shall enjoy the same rights and, in particular, have an absolute right to maintain and develop their nationality and their language. All the languages used in the provinces are recognized by the State as having equal rights with regard to education, administration, and public life.²⁷

²⁵ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁶ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

²⁷ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

However there are actually an infinite number of relations that may be formed, many of which are used at this time in a variety of situations, i.e. Belgium, Benelux, Switzerland, Crete or otherwise.¹⁰

The essence of the problem was captured in the words of Richard Falk of Princeton University, when he wrote:

We need to understand the extent to which there exists in all parts of the world now, an awareness that one of the great current problems of world order, is the plight of what I would call entrapped nations, nations that are entrapped within the structure and framework of the sovereign state. An enormous juristic fraud has been perpetrated on modern political consciousness by confusing national identity with the power political reality of state sovereignty. The whole idea of what it means to be a national has been converted through a formal juristic device into a legal status that the state confers, which, for the majority of people living in the world, does not correspond with their ethnic, psychological and political reality. Their sense of what it means to belong to a collectivity, however one describes it, whether in tribal terms or in national terms, is often at odds with a network of imposed obligations owed to the sovereign state. Rather than a sense of loyalty associated with the natural sentiment of nationality, there exists a condition of political alienation in a variety of forms.⁽³⁰²⁾¹¹

The significance for domestic peace and order, from the viewpoint of those nations Falk sees as entrapped, can perhaps best be stated by paraphrasing the words of an early western philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau:

It can be said that the government does not provide for the human rights of self-determination

for American minorities because to do so would be too expensive and may disrupt law and order. But what good is this domestic peace or *enforced order* to American minorities living in a state of gross inequality and injury. What advantage is it, if this law, order and peace itself is based on American minorities agreeing to be contented with poverty and oppression ? If this peace is in fact one of their miseries ? One can have law and order while living in a jail. The Greeks, while enclosed in the cage of the Cyclops, lived in peace while waiting to be eaten. *

 * {On dira que le dépote assure a ses sujets le tranquillité civile. Ou'y gagnent-ils, a cette tranquillité même est une de leurs misères ? On vit tranquille aussi dans les cachets. Les grecs enfermées dans l'ancre du cyclope y vivent tranquilles, en attendent que leur tour vint d'être dévorer.} (303)₁₂²⁸

There is an obligation to differentiate the terms political alienation, autonomy, apartheid and assimilation in order to make sense of their usage. The discussion could begins to resemble a question of semantics at this juncture, except for the sharp demarcations made in the documentation of the United Nations Organization. Some attempts have been made to justify assimilationist policies by contrasting this strategy with apartheid or segregation. Forced assimilation is thus presented as desegregation.

[...] any efforts of the minority to have its historical circumstances included in the evaluation of what it needs to be equal, is considered reverse racism, should the interest of a single majority member be compromised. (See 'Reverse Racism', *Newsweek Magazine*, September 14, 1977). Note how this American definition of 'reverse racism'

²⁸ Kly, *op.. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

apparently ignores the notion of eliminating discrimination against minorities as called for in Article 5, paragraph 2 of the *International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, 1966.²⁹

If assimilation is considered as a viable means of social construction, it would have to take into account the failed assimilation of the Jewish Conversos during the time of the Spanish Inquisition. In spite of having adopted the culture characteristics of the ruling national majority, and by so doing even converting to the dominant religion of Christianity. The religiously assimilated Jewish Spanish population were rejected even before the remaining non-Christian Jewish population, as 'new-Christians', or hidden Jews. It is often thought that assimilation is a simple matter of choice for the minority nationality when in actuality such possibilities are limited, due to the rejection posed by the dominant ethnic (ethnos 'nation' Gk. *ethnikos*).

It is a widespread belief that if members of different groups come into contact with one another, friendlier attitudes will develop as a consequence. This is not always true. No amount of contact between (members of different groups) is likely to improve relations (in) cases (where) judgements of superiority or inferiority may merely be reinforced. What is needed is equal-status contact, in which the members of the ethnic groups which meet, represent comparable levels of position and prestige. Research has further indicated that contact has the best results when the two groups work together to achieve a common goal, particularly when success depends on co-operation.³⁰(299)₁₃

The process of assimilation, if it is not forced, is nonetheless problematic because the uneven relation between the two cultures places a status of

²⁹ Kly, *op. cit.*, #165, p. 158.

³⁰ Kly, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

dependency upon the assimilated party. The results of this process would be that the assimilated 'ethnos' become the underclass of the working class of the society as a whole (ethnarchy) forming a social Order, or alternatively, the lower rank of any other socio-economic class that the assimilated ethnic is able to aspire to.

Integration, however, proceeds from the basis of national autonomy in which the collective rights of any one national collectivity are considered on a par with that of the previously dominant majority. That is to say that a settler minority would not seek to assume the same powers as the indigenous national culture with a view to establishing its dominance over the other. It is rather a matter of forming equal status through autonomous formations (ethnos) which seek integration with the indigenous culture on a voluntary basis without the danger of any associated discriminatory features becoming the permanent result. This point is so crucial that Boutros-Ghali wrote;

Experience shows that in a multi-national society, the most effective way to build a just, peaceful and united nation, is for the state concerned to adopt a policy which allows members of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups to 'preserve their own characteristics' (emphasis added). (300)₁₄³¹

Reference may be made to the U.N. General Assembly's *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (1992) in Appendix F, herein.

³¹ Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

2.4 Conclusions

1) Yussuf Kly presents the need for minority autonomy as such;

[...] To formulate a policy of minority protection ignoring the economic, political and social problems upon which the goal depends is to condemn the minority to the total domination by (and perhaps exploitation by) the majority until such time as the world's economic, political and social systems are appropriately perfected. Such a formulation would very much resemble the Marxist view of religion: a formulation of problem solving which serves as an opiate, impeding the search for a viable solution to minority protection, and in the meanwhile allowing domination, exploitation and oppression free rein to run rampant under the umbrella of national sovereignty, integration and military power. It is a formulation of problem solving which, in the final analysis, amounts to no protection, no just solution, at all. [...]

The American viewing of minority protection totally in terms of human goals to be realized only in the future, such as non-discrimination, assimilation and 'everybody is the same' equality, represents the reversal of this [Kly's] logic; their proposed solution would depend on factors that cannot be demonstrated to exist anywhere else in the world:

[...] multi-national, multi-racial or multi-ethnic states that are completely integrated into one ethny ('everybody is the same'). The idea itself is contradictory and against the spirit of justice, common sense, and international human rights law. (164)

164 International law in both covenants emphasizes cultural rights, including the right of self-determination. The Genocide Convention underlines the right of racial, ethnic, religious, etc. groups to exist. Cultural rights have recently been re-emphasized in the United Nations Declaration of the Principles of International

Cultural Co-operation (UNESCO, November 4, 1966), etc..³²

2) Kly goes further into the nature of the U.S. political culture;

Given no clear-cut, legally-articulated minority policy, the essence of the maxim that majority self-interest will prevail over minority rights is in no danger of becoming antiquated. For three centuries, U.S. domestic and international policies have been based on the assumption that America is fundamentally an Anglo-Saxon controlled nation (similar to settler-dominated Australia, Canada, Rhodesia, South Africa), and that Anglo-American domination over other national minorities or subjected races, particularly blacks, is natural, right and necessary, as well as profitable and satisfying. (159) This assumption and basic belief, which represents the essence of ethno-centralism, is an integral part of the unwritten maxims of the American way of life. However, the U.S. commitment to total Anglo-American socio-political and economic domination is no less potent (160) because it is usually unrecognized, frequently unintended and virtually never acknowledged. There is evidence in the past and indication in the present that this Anglo-American drive to assimilate the minorities of North America has resulted and will result in policies, private and public, that have the effect of 'domination' and exploitation of national minorities for generations to come. (161) Thus the fate of certain national minorities trapped in the only historically recognized geographical boundaries of the militarily and economically most powerful and influential state in the world may be even more diabolical than the most gloomy records of colonialism in the Third World, due to the absolute and self-righteous control on all levels of the minorities' day-to-day life made practical by a national policy that does not recognize the existence of such minorities nor their minority rights. (162)

159 Bell, *op. cit.*, p.6. Professor Bell expresses this same notion but only as it related to the black minority. *Le Monde*, 'Porto-Rico en

³² Kly, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

quête d'identité', 05-10-77, p. 1, Alain-Marie Carron writes: "Le travail que la race anglaise a commencé lorsqu'elle a colonisé l'Amérique du nord est destiné à se poursuivre jusqu'à ce que tout territoire sur la terre qui n'est pas déjà le siège d'une vieille civilisation soit devenue anglais."

160 In this book, dominance is used in the sense of its use in dependency theory. It may or may not imply intentions or will, but it always implies economic and socio-political control or asymmetry in relationships between the smaller and larger entities.

161 This expression seems to provide support for the notion suggested in *The Question of Imperialism* by Benjamin Cohen, that a state can practice domestic imperialistic policies of domination, inequality (political and economic), and exploitation where a stronger majority ethny (or nation) and a weaker minority ethny (or nation) live within the political boundaries of the same state. Cohen writes:

The point is simply that an action which involves the political domination or control of one country over another, or of one national group within a country over another, must be labeled imperialistic. If the term imperialism is limited to maritime empires, analysis runs the risk of being incomplete. Colonies overseas are but one special case of a much more general social phenomenon; political dependencies at home or beyond the borders (of which there seem to be numerous examples) are of equal importance. The problem is national oppression or subjugation; the subordination of one nation by another. No specific type can be ignored.

Benjamin Cohen, *The Question of Imperialism*, Basic Books, New York, 1973, p. 92.

The following writings also call attention to various exploitative aspects of U.S. 'domination' over its national minorities: Albert Memmi, *L'homme dominé, le noir, le colonisé, le prolétaire, le juif, la femme, le domestique*, Payot, Paris, Petite Bibliotheque 1973; John Howard, *Awakening Minorities, American Indians, Mexican Americans*,

Puerto Ricans, etc., New Jersey, Transaction Books, 1972.

162 For some political scientists, the black minority in the U.S. is seen as extremely important to the future of the U.S.. See Amaury de Reincourt, *The American Empire*, New York, Dell Publishing, 1968.³³

The tendency to exclusivity in Anglo-imperialism has been uppermost for a long time, at least since the 1290 expulsion and exclusion of the Jewish people from Great Britain.

To associate exclusivity with one nation or another would only be comparable to associating national exclusivity with one class in socio-economic terms. Neither proposal seems to escape from an exclusive methodology in and of itself. Conceiving of the tendency to exclusivity as being inherent to the nature of a State apparatus makes for an exclusive methodology as well, the two factors of State and exclusivity are related by their nature of Monism, which remains the only manner of existence which is postulated by their nature. The two secondary factors of the private sectors' oligarchy and the Nation equated to Society in its entirety are further manifestations of exclusivity.

It has been thought that exclusivity is inherent in the national consciousness itself, as well as in the ideological underpinnings of the haute-bourgeoisie. However, it is theoretically possible that a society of more than one nation is viable. In a pluralist society more than one nation can survive. It is as if the gladiators unilaterally decided that one or the other need not be annihilated in order to make way for the other. Having so decided, they allied themselves together and overcame the Roman army, even though they had

³³ Kly, *loc. cit.*, pp. 79-80, p. 157.

originated from differing nations.

Thus the Nation can be transfused into Society without the State's intervention, in a poly-national society by means of a pluralist methodology, rather than Monist. In the case of the State, pluralism would be in contradiction to its defining nature. In the case of class formation there can be a poly-national class if there is economic integration formed in the context of reciprocal Inter-Nationals relations corresponding to its poly-national society. Evidently, the nature of the particular class determines the feasibility of pluralist operations. Considering the symbiotic relation between the bourgeoisie and the State, it is unlikely that a poly-national social environment would be compatible with the ties established by the bourgeois class and the State.

In terms of intellectual resources with which to pursue this line of inquiry we may appeal to inquiries into Islam and its self-conception as Berque explains " [...] 'din wa dunya', the mediation between the one and the other", ³⁴ in addition to Spinoza.

* * * *

³⁴ Berque, *L'Islam au défi*, Chapter II, p. 39.

NOTES

VOLUME TWO

METHODOLOGY OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

CHAPTER II

AUTO-DETERMINATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION

1. i.e. [...] Under Samuel, however, the Israelites demanded a king 'like all the nations'. Jahweh Himself made the meaning of their desire clear to Samuel: 'Harken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not be king over them'. At God's command Samuel warned the people who were asking him for a king, and told them that kingship meant war and oppression. Nevertheless the Israelites remained firm: 'That there shall be a king over us, that we also may be like all the nations'.
2. 18. See M. Pomerance, 'U.S. and Self-Determination: Perspective on the Wilsonian Conception', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 70, January 1976, pp. 1-27

3. The Sub-Commission is a committee of the Commission of Human Rights, which is a commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. In the 1960's special 'rapporteur' M. Francesco Capotorti was called upon to initiate a study on the question of minority rights in relation to Article 27 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. His report was presented to and accepted by a majority of the Sub-Commission in 1977. It appeared in the form of the U.N. Coc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/Addenda. [Kly, *op cit.*, 151]

See General Assembly Resolution E/CN.4/Sub.2/103: (Kly, *op cit.*, p. 151.)

Recognizing that there exist in many States distinctive population groups possessing racial, religious, linguistic or cultural characteristics different from those of the rest of the population, usually know as minorities.

4. See Introduction of Chapter V for further discussion.

76. E/CN.4/Sub.2/284/Add 2

77. General Assembly Resolution E/CN.4/Sub.2/103, loc.cit..

78. E/CN.4/Sub.2/SR.48, Official Records of the General Assembly,

Third Session, Part 1, Sixth Committee, 83rd meeting.

79. U.N. Doc E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/Add2, page 80.

5. 60. Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), p. 19 and *passim*. [Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 352 Notes]

6. 118. Official Records of the General Assembly, Third Session, Part 1, Annexes, Agenda Item 58, Document A /784.

7. *Draft Covenants on Economic, Social, Cultural, Civil and Political Rights*. Text approved by the Commission on Human Rights at its tenth Session, February 23 - April 16, 1954, ESCOR XVIII, Supp. 7 (E/2573), pp. 62-72.
8. Subrata Roy Chowdhury, 'The Status and Norms of Self-Determination in Contemporary International Law', Texas, *International Law Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 129, 1977, pp. 72-85. See also Emerson, *loc. cit.*
9. 138. See *Right to Enjoy Culture: International Cultural Development and Cooperation*, Article XI, paragraph 1, Human Rights United Nations Publication, *loc. cit.*
10. See Yussuf Kly p. 67, pertaining to *Special measures*.
11. 302. Richard Falk, in *The Rights of Indigenous Peoples in International Law*, Ruth Thompson, ed., University of Saskatchewan Native Law Center, pp. 60, 1987.
12. 303. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Du Contrat Social*, edited by R.G. Schwartzenberg,
Paris, Editions Seghers, 1971, p. 110.
13. 299. E/CN.4/384/Add. 3, p. 31.
14. 300. Boutros-Ghali, *Cultural Rights as Human Rights*, (SCH. 68/XIX 3/a) UNESCO, Paris, 1970, p. 13. Also see E/CN.4/Sub.2/384/Add. 4, p. 11.

CHAPTER III

RECIPROCITY AND NATION

CHAPTER III

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3.1 Introduction¹

The treatment of Reciprocity in 'VOLUME ONE Nation and Civil Society' rested upon the relations between the elemental individuals of a given civil society. The basis of the formation of a 'general will' was considered to be reciprocity, or mutuality.

A further meaning to Reciprocity here is the reciprocal existence of national entities. The nature of reciprocity finds expression in the auto-determinations that reflect upon each other. In this second sense of the reciprocal conception, it can be demonstrated that this symmetrical reciprocity may be developed as a principle in place of the principle of self-determination, and, in affirmation of the right to auto-determination.

3.2 State Centralism

As an example of the practice of State centralism and militarism, we may observe that the State of Israel (the Zionist State) was founded as a

¹ abraham Weizfeld, doctoral essay for Prof. Anne Legaré originally published as, *Reciprocity and Nationalism*, Montréal, Unikorn Publications, La Galerie Fôkus (osbl-ob), 1990.

principle of self-determination directed against the Palestinian Nation, 'the other'. As a principle, such a position is based upon the 'absolute' which is the 'principle' meaning to the conception of self-determination. The Palestinian Nation's claim to a right to auto-determination rests in contradiction to the nature of the occupying state. Such mutually exclusive claims become asymmetrical and make it necessary to look into the 'question' from which it arises, and into the 'principle' which arises in response to that 'question'.

The exclusiveness of the proposition held in the principle of self-determination is a problematic which is nurtured by the sovereignty of the State evolving from the monarchy itself, as a centralized authority. The nature of the sovereign authority is held in the person of one sole individual (the head of State) or body claiming to represent the general will, the 'nation', either consciously or un-consciously. To the extent that a Palestinian conception of self-determination is expressed as a principle in itself seeking state recognition, it remains in contradiction to and a reflection of the Zionist State, and this is at the root of the impasse faced by the two-State solution. Additionally, the lack of mutual recognition between the Palestinian Nation and the Jewish Nation, particularly the Jewish-Israeli nation, in itself remains the foremost obstacle to the reconciliation process, as exemplified by that separation wall.

Such a set of mutually exclusive claims, results in either of two counterpoised political positions. That is, it may be considered that either one

or the other national identity should not exist, as an absolute principle, by being fundamentally counterpoised to the other ('le Moi et le Non-moi')₂. This perspective however, is based in the illusion of the absolute nature of its own 'principle' of self-determination, by virtue of some defining ideology, whether it be religious, or political. The absolute nature of the principle based in self-determination is determined by the exclusive proposition of one party or the other. Likewise, the exclusivity of the proposition is maintained by the absolute conception of the principle. Another choice, the alternative, would be to consider the other party to the polarity to be in the same position as the former party to the dispute, in reciprocity - as if one were the reflection, the mirror image of the other; ('Le Moi comme le Non-Moi'). This procedure can also be a critical/self-critical methodology, mutual and reciprocal. In effect, the method by which one escapes from the quandary of opposing absolute principles of sovereignty is to postulate a principle which is not absolute, and that principle must, by corollary, be a principle of reciprocity₃.

Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel touched on this reflective mode of analysis to write, "the particular which by its reflection into itself has been equalized with the universal".² But what is to be considered in the term 'universal' is then the problem that remains open to definition.

² Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, translated by T.M. Knox, Oxford University Press, (1942) 1949, p. 23.

3.2.1 State Federalism

Such a term as State Federalism may be immediately perceived of as a contradiction in terms, since Federalism or Confederation (Constitutional Federation) represents a Society governed by itself and not by a central State (as is differentiated in Chapter I, here).

3.2.1.1 Québec-Canada

As a political entity, the State of Canada is considered to have a legal seniority (even if it does not have historical precedence) established by the authority of the British Monarchy which conferred upon it, the right to exist as a Nation-State. Arising from the military defeat of the competing monarchical power, Canada was established as a State authority in the territory which the native Algonquin referred to as 'Kebek'₄.

The principle of absolute self-determination for Canada is taken to be a legally established prerogative to that of any other authority within the State of what was called the Dominion of Canada and what is now referred to as the Confederation of Canada, a State which takes the form of its central power, the institutions in Ottawa (Ontario), which was thus named, The Nation's

Capital₅. The division of powers between the central State and the provincial jurisdictions merely represents the balance of forces at any given moment, although provincial authority is by definition limited and the central State authority is not, and so 'it' remains sovereign, in the monarchical sense. This is the concept of Sovereignty, perpetuated from the Feudal epoch, and previously found in the religious dogma of the monarchies of antiquity.

3.2.1.2 Hypothesis

As has been proposed, the failure and loss of 'the right of self-determination' is due to its lack of symmetry, being in the form of an absolute, as if it were a principle. Such a principle exists only in isolation, without a relative context.

This exclusive interpretation of self-determination arises from the perspective provided by the State apparatus which requires its principle of 'sovereignty', a principle that in logical consequence insists upon its own absolute security as an expression of its exclusive self-determination. The logical consequence of this inference is that a State formation must be continuously prepared to wage war with the intention of defeating any other power that may threaten its own sovereign will.

The centralized authority of the State apparatus serves to treat society as a homogenized and uniform nation best suited to the perpetuation of the State apparatus itself.

3.3 Federalism

3.3.1 Individuality and Self-determination

(‘le Moi et le Non-Moi’ / ‘oneself and the not oneself’)

The contradiction that is dealt with here rests between the absolute ‘Moi’ and the ‘Non-Moi’. To resolve the contradiction - or rather the antinomy, as it should be considered - it is necessary to conceive of an interpretation of ‘le Moi’ which is not absolute, that is, to deconstruct ‘le Moi’ which exists ‘in’ itself and thus ‘for’ itself (i.e. soi-même), defining all others as being exterior/alien to itself; and in this manner it is not conscious of existence in the actuality of its social context.₆ However, if ‘le Moi’ is considered in the identical sense as ‘le Non-Moi’ in Society, then there can be no contradiction. According to the Principle of Identity if,

$$A = A$$

then, the set of [A] = the set of [A]

and it shall follow that,

the set of ['le Moi'] = the set of ['le Moi'].

However if we were to have 'le Moi' defined principally as 'soi-même', then by definition, two such identities are in contradiction to each others existence and the general set of ['le Moi'] is internally inconsistent and cannot be equal to itself. This then can be expressed as the difference between 'le Moi' as itself or 'le Moi' relative, as Luc Ferry appropriately presents the matter;

D'un point de vue strictement logique, il va de soi que la position d'un Non-Moi est absolument incompatible avec celle d'un Moi absolu qui prétend être la totalité de réel [...].³

Conversely, if we conceive of the set of ['le Moi'] as an equivalence unto itself in its identity, then there should be no contradiction as such. 'Le Moi' as 'soi-même' becomes revealed as a misconception according to the Principle of Identity.

It could be stated that the existence of 'le Non-Moi' naturally supposes the existence of 'le Moi' just as 'le Moi' should suppose the existence of 'le Non-Moi', and as Fichte conceived of the matter, "la possibilité de l'opposer elle-même suppose l'identité de la conscience".⁴ As such, the identity of the one with the other destroys 'le Moi absolu' with its connotation of a single

³ Luc Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁴ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

isolated entity (as in a deity, or a monarch). Ferry shows the antinomy of 'le Moi et le Non-Moi' in its most rigorous context as;

la difficulté consistant, encore une fois dans le fait q'il est impossible de poser l'un sans poser l'autre, les constructions logiques qui les établissent étant rigoureusement parallèles.⁵₁₀

While this dynamic of identity can be turned to advantage to view this co-existence from a uniquely exclusive, or mutually exclusive perspective, for purposes of exploitation, it need not be necessarily so. In the crudest sense it is proposed that, it is merely the relationship of forces which set the dynamic defining the relationship between two identities. However, considering the mode of their construction as being parallel, the matter may be considered to be, 'le Non-Moi' = 'le Moi'⁶, in the sense that they are identical even though they are not the same₁₁ - as considered in this reciprocal manner.

From the concept of 'le Moi absolu' it follows that such a consciousness seeks to achieve its self-determination according to the principle meaning of 'déterminé par soi-même'. The identity of self per se, 'soi-même', is an absolute consciousness which seeks out all that can be brought to be the extension of the self as a possession of its own being and no other. This is possession in the sense of the extension of the self, even beyond its essential

⁵ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁶ Ferry, *op. cit.*, footnote #4, p. 140.

interests, without limit. As in property, the possessive self is expressed as private property, distinguished from either common, or personal property.

As an extrapolation, it is then necessary to distinguish between 'l'individualité relative' ('l'individu social') and 'l'individualité absolue' ('le Dieu, le Roi, une vie')₁₂ in order to differentiate Society from the State and its ideology that exists in and of itself, and so, for itself.

3.3.2 Reciprocity

3.3.2.1 Symmetrical Reciprocity

('le moi et le moi' / 'the self and the self')

By Reciprocity, the self-definition of 'le Moi' cannot be different from the self-definition of 'le Non-Moi'. The identity of 'le Moi' cannot be other than the identity of 'le Non-Moi'. If 'le Moi absolu' conceives of reality as an 'en-soi seulement pour moi'₁₃ then 'le Non-Moi' simply cannot exist in and of itself 'hors de le moi'!₁₄ The symmetrical existence and construction of each in such a parallel fashion according to the Principle of Identity is in contradiction to the self-definition of 'le Moi absolu' (see conclusion # 3). As Fichte puts it,

la possibilité de l'opposer elle-même suppose l'identité de la conscience [...] par conséquent, le passage du poser à l'opposer n'est possible que par l'identité de Moi.⁷₁₅

Also in the manner that Ferry presents Fichte's argumentation,

Fichte formule cette contradiction de la façon suivante (j'ajoute un commentaire entre parenthèses) : « Si $\text{Moi} = \text{Moi}$, tout ce qui est posé dans le Moi est posé. Or, le second principe doit être posé (puisqu'il a les mêmes présuppositions logiques que celles qu'on a admises pour poser le premier) dans le Moi (puisque le Moi Absolu contient tout) et aussi ne pas posé dans le Moi (car c'est précisément un Non-Moi). Par conséquent, Moi n'est pas $= \text{Moi}$, mais $\text{Moi} = \text{Non-Moi}$ et $\text{Non-Moi} = \text{Moi}$ » (Ibid., pp.27-28).⁸₁₆

As such, since ' $\text{le Moi} = \text{le Non-Moi} = \text{le Moi}$ '₁₇, then the entity ' le Moi Absolu ' is not only in contradiction with ' le Non-Moi ', but it is also in contradiction with itself, and so is annulled. What remains must be treated as Ferry presents;

il convient en effet de souligner que les deux termes posés doivent nécessairement l'être en ce que, se supposant l'un l'autre, ils s'impliquent réciproquement.⁹₁₈

We can see here the limitation placed upon the Principle of Identity by

⁷ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁸ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁹ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

the contradiction which is injected by the absolute perspective of 'le Moi'. The reconstruction of the Principle of Identity presents itself by the problematic which is posed in and of itself. It becomes necessary to conceive of a further Principle, a principle of Reciprocity which not only redefines the nature of Identity in the first principle but also of Reason in the second principle. If reality is to be rational then the real and the rational must reflect upon each other as a process. The real cannot be simply assumed to be rational, as in the Hegelian sense.

The nature of the resolution in the apparent contradiction between the individual consciousness and its civil society, or, for that matter - in the complete set of elements - a national entity and its related societies is associated with what must be regarded as a Principle of Reciprocity. Since Ferry touches upon the matter of seeking out a means to 'autolimiter', it follows necessarily that,

à condition que soit organisée une constitution telle que ces gens, « qui par leurs sentiments particuliers s'opposent les uns aux autres », soient contraints d'imposer une limite à leurs égoïsmes - ils en viennent peu à peu à comprendre que leur intérêt même est de refréner réciproquement leurs penchants, « de façon à parvenir dans leur conduite à un résultat identique à celui qu'ils obtiendraient s'ils n'avaient pas ces mauvaises dispositions ».¹⁰

¹⁰ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Ferry is close to Rousseau here, who refers to; "subjecting equally the powerful and the weak to the observance of reciprocal obligations.",¹¹ as well as;

The life of both bodies [the body politic and the human body] is the self common to the whole, the reciprocal sensibility and internal correspondence of all the parts.¹²

Much like Locke who comments,

A state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another, there being nothing more evident than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of Nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another, without subordination or subjection.¹³

The basis upon which the reconciliation of 'la conscience commune'²⁰ is possible depends upon the feasibility of any concept to be "relativisé"¹⁴, that is; to be reciprocally applied in a common setting. This corresponds to the conclusion in Philonenko's proposition on the quantitative and so divisible nature of the relative identity 'le moi',

¹¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'A Discourse on The Origin of Inequality', pp. 27-114, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1973, p. 89.

¹² Rousseau, *Ibid.*, p. 120, 'A Discourse On Political Economy', pp. 115-154

¹³ John Locke, *Two Treatises on Civil Government*, London, George Routledge & Sons, 1903, pp. 192-3.

¹⁴ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

l'idée d'action réciproque: le Moi et le Non-Moi se partagent la totalité de réel, leurs quantités opposées entretenant un rapport de réciprocité, comme dans un système de forces.¹⁵₂₁

Kant defines this idea as 'The Universal Principle of Right' by which ,

Right is therefore the sum total of those conditions within which the will of one person can be reconciled with the will of another in accordance with a universal law of freedom. [...]
'Every action which by itself or by its maxim enables; the freedom of each individual's will to co-exist with the freedom of everyone else in accordance with a universal law is 'right'.¹⁶

Luc Ferry, throughout the work, *Le système des philosophies de l'histoire*, treats reciprocity as a principle. What is meant by such a categorization is described appropriately, although indirectly, by Ferry here;

au premier principe correspond la réalité, au second la négation, au troisième la limitation. La limitation s'explicite en action réciproque (du Moi et du Non-Moi au sein du Moi absolu),¹⁷₂₂

and again rephrased as, « l'idée de rationalité parfaite comme principe de la réflexion ». ¹⁸₂₃ In this manner of thinking, existence is inverted from the

¹⁵ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

¹⁶ Immanuel Kant, *Kant's Political Writings*, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 133, 'The Metaphysics of Morals', 'Introduction to the Theory of Right', § C.

¹⁷ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁸ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

absolute to the relative; from that of authority to that of the commune collective. Simon Dubnow raises objections here considering such a deduction remains “in the category of a ‘pium desiderium’.”¹⁹

The difference in formulation presented here as the Principle of Reciprocity, unlike the principle of reflection or limitation as it is referred to, is the difference between a theory of the permanence of reflective transformation in the former, and the limits espoused by liberal doctrine in the latter. Such ‘limitation’ is a matter imposed by a subjective consciousness as an external force embodied as the State, or conceived of as a moralistic deity. In contrast to such inherent limitations, the Principle of Reciprocity describes a social dynamic which does not require any agency, which would rest in opposition to the very principle ascribed to it, since any such externalized agent would be incapable of its own self-reflection, being a non-living entity.

3.3.3 Auto-Determination

(‘le moi comme l’autrui’ / ‘the self as the others’)

Following from the conceptualization of the reciprocal principle (or

¹⁹ Simon Dubnow, *Nationalism and History: Essays on Old and New Judaism*, Cleveland & New York, Meridian Books, The World Publishing Co., & Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961, p. 129.

the 'principe de la réflexion' as in Ferry), a method of analysis can be developed originating from the Fichtian systematization of Kant's *Transcendental Dialectic*. For the resolution of « le Moi se détermine lui-même, le Moi est déterminé », we are given, « le Moi se pose lui-même comme limité par le Non-Moi ».²⁰ Although this contrast is an explicative formulation, its abstraction and ambiguity can be seen in the idea that 'le Moi' is to limit itself, as if it were reified and could observe itself from some objective standpoint. This would inevitably introduce an extraneous agent enforcing this quality in its name.

In place of 'le Moi Absolu' and 'le Moi limité par le Non-Moi', we have 'le moi autonome' (or, relativised) which presents itself as a resolution to that antinomy. Again, through extrapolation it can be seen that any given social entity, and indeed reality in general, exists in 'relative' autonomy to any and all other entities. The difference between 'le Moi déterminé par soi-même' and 'le moi autonome' then is a parallel to the differentiation made between the terms self-determination and auto-determination in the previous Chapter II.

To systematize 'le moi comme l'autrui' one could begin by referring to the description in Ferry,

²⁰ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 195 (*Grundlage*, trad. p. 33).

Si le Moi absolu comprend toute réalité, au sens où il nie toute réalité, au sens où, en tant qu'absolu, il doit, comme l'indiquait déjà la *Dialectique transcendantale* de Kant, nier 'le monde extérieur et la temporalité' dans sa prétention à l'autosuffisance éternelle. Dès lors, la démarche de Fiche [Fichte] apparaît comme essentiellement 'réparatrice': il s'agit, dans une déconstruction de l'illusion ce que celle-ci a éliminé dans sa prétention même à l'absolue, à savoir le monde extérieur et le sujet fini situé dans le temps.²¹₂₅

In contrast to that relation of 'le moi autonome', the conception of social existence by 'le Moi déterminé par soi-même' is rather like the manner of 'le moi et les autres'. That then concludes in the nature of, 'le moi comme l'autrui'²².

It follows that such a notion as absolute security in the form of the State, as will be presented in the case study of the State of Israel in Chapter V, is an illusion based in the appearance of all-knowingness - omniscience and omnipresence - while at the same time maintaining a determined isolation in daily life and in its ideological rationale - that is, the ideology of Zionism.

Corresponding to the relative interdependence of any social entity, the need for security and sustenance is associated with mutually beneficial Inter-Nationals relations. This is both a matter of the influence exerted from such

²¹ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

²² Atkins, Duval, Milne (eds.), *Robert Collins Dictionnaire Français~Anglais Anglais~Français*, Nouvelle Édition, Paris, Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1987, p. 54.

an identity upon the general social environment, together with, in return, the social effect upon that entity. Thus, the proposition of social revolution for political liberation is not merely a matter for the consideration of one particular nation or individual. Either a process is fulfilled Inter-Nationally or it is defeated in the international context. This effect has also been referred to as the dynamic of 'Permanent Revolution' by Lev Bronstein (Leon Trotsky) and his predecessors, Marx, Proudhon and Ryazanov.

It may be derived from the second Principle - Reason - that the reciprocal principle is operative as a consequence of the dialectic fundamental to Logic. With the extraction of causality as a credible determinant, the dialectic of 'le moi et le non-moi comme le moi et l'autrui' is found in the reciprocal dynamic action of each element upon the other. It follows then from the Principle of Reason as well as the Principle of Identity, that a practice which surpasses the antinomies introduced by the absolute and the linear-causal aspects must operate as a Principle of Reciprocity.

The essential nature leading towards auto-determination then rests in the differentiation from the idea of 'déterminé par soi-même', as this is in contradiction to any other such entity and so ultimately in contradiction to itself. Such an unlimited right as self-determination is a license to exploit, in so far as the relation of forces allow and/or the freedom to be exploited in so far as the relation of forces permit. In this way a 'principle' of self-

determination as such is revealed as a rationalization for oppression.

In addition, since the relation of forces are constantly in flux, the 'principle to self-determination' also comes to be in contradiction to itself as it is revealed to be a justification and motivation for pre-emptive war as a means to achieve a desired reversal of roles; perpetual war, ending perhaps with its own defeat, and so in its own contradiction by negation.

However the conception of auto-determination (as a right) is differentiated from self-determination as a principle, by the recognition of the relation to others' autonomous existence, rather than existence in itself, in effect in one's self.

En ruinant l'illusion d'un moi absolu - illusion 'théorique' d'un 'substrat antérieur' à l'apparition du monde, de la temporalité et de l'intersubjectivité - les Principes transforment ce moi absolu en une simple idée pratique ouvrant l'humanité à son 'avenir'.²³₂₆

The inter-subjectivity referred to, forms a parallel to its correlative, the concept 'Inter-Nationals', when extrapolating to the Nation, by considering the difference between 'la Nation absolu' and 'la Nation relativisée'.²⁷

In this parallel manner, 'le Moi absolu' corresponds to the sovereign

²³ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

State while 'la Nation' follows the progression referred to in Ferry, « l'Etre comme Lieu (Ort), Contrée (Gegung), Patrie (Heimat) »²⁴₂₈, so laying down the basis for the extrapolation from 'le Moi' to 'la Nation' (the set of ['Moi']), in effect 'le moi en commune' - 'the self in collectivity'.

3.3.4 Nationalities and Auto-Determination

(['le moi'] et ['l'autrui'] / ['the self'] and ['the others'])

The relation amongst 'le moi', or more extensively, the set of ['le moi'] and ['l'autrui'], is presented by Ferry's reference below to Fichte's first Chapter of *Grundlage des Naturrechts* (The Fundamentals of Natural Rights) dealing with the 'déduction de l'intersubjectivité';

qu'elle vise à montrer comment l'existence d'autrui est une condition de possibilité théorique, absolument indispensable de la conscience de soi ("Pas de toi, pas de moi, pas de moi, pas de toi"), écrira Fichte dans le style qui est le sein,²⁵₂₉

this reference being reminiscent of Rabbi Hillel saying; 'If I am not for myself

²⁴ Ferry, *op. cit.*, footnote #1, p. 92.

²⁵ Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

then who am I, and if I am not for others then what am I'. In Aristotle we find also, "for amongst equals whatever is fair and just ought to be reciprocal".²⁶ Likewise, Herder presents the matter as a principle;

Man, then is 'born' for society. This is brought home to him by the affection of his parents and by the protracted period of his infancy.

5. Man's sympathy cannot, however, be extended to everything indiscriminately, since it could easily prove an uncertain and unreliable guide for so restricted and complex a creature in matters that are more remote and less familiar to him. For this reason wise Mother Nature drew together all his various interwoven tendencies under a safer guiding rule, that of 'justice and truth [...]: Do not unto others what you would not wish them to do unto you; but what you expect others to do unto you, do unto them too'. This incontestable rule is written even in the breast of the human monster; for when he eats the flesh of others, he expects to be eaten in turn. It is the rule of true and false, of the 'idem et idem', of reciprocity, founded on the system of all out propensities, and attributable perhaps also to man's upright posture. If I press someone to my bosom, he presses me also to his; if I risk my life for him, he risks his for mine. It is this principle of reciprocity that the laws of man and of nations are founded.²⁷

It is in Hegel's section on the 'Division of the Subject' that we find an elaboration of the subjective will;

'Division of the Subject'

²⁶ Aristotle, *The Politics*, Buffalo, Prometheus Books, 1986, p. 207.

²⁷ J.G. Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1969, p. 270.

33. In correspondence with the stages in the development of the Idea of the absolutely free will, the will is

A. immediate; its concept therefore is abstract, namely personality, and its embodiment is an immediate external thing - the sphere of the 'Abstract' or 'Formal Right';

B. reflected from its external embodiment into itself - it is then characterized as subjective individuality in opposition to the universal. The universal here is characterized as something inward, the good, and also as something outward, a world presented to the will; both these sides of the Idea are here mediated only by each other. This is the Idea in its division or in its existence as particular; and here we have the right of the subjective will in relation to the right of the world and the right of the Idea, though only the Idea implicit - the sphere of Morality ;

C. the unity and truth of both these abstract moments - the Idea of the good not only apprehended in thought but so realized both in the will reflected into itself and in the external world that freedom exists as substance, as actuality and necessity, no less than as subjective will; this is the Idea in its absolutely universal existence - 'Ethical Life'.

But on the same principle the ethical substance is

a) natural mind, the Family ;

b) in its division and appearance,

'Civil Society';

c) the State as freedom, freedom universal and objective even in the free self-subsistence of the particular will. This actual and organic mind (alpha) of a single nation (beta) reveals and actualizes itself through the inter-relation of the particular national minds until (gamma) in the process of world-history it reveals and actualizes itself as the universal world-mind whose right is supreme.²⁸

The myth of the Trinity in Hegel seems to provide the basis for his

²⁸ G.F.W. Hegel, *op. cit.*, 'Introduction', #33, p. 35.

identification of the State and Civil Society, otherwise, the two would annul each other. It would seem that the State embodies all the individuals by virtue of also being the Civil Society. The reduction of the Civil Society into the State, and thus his transformation of the State into Civil Society, follows from the methodology that he refers to in the opening of his theorem. He refers to 'the stages in the development of the Idea of the absolutely free will ...' which takes one into the unity of the three social formations, the individual ('le Moi'), the Civil Society, and then the State; in reverse priority. The individual is seen as being of initial interest and so the fundamental priority, although The State nonetheless ends up being the Supreme priority by virtue of the individual being placed in the context of the family.³⁰ In this instance the free will is found in stages of its Idea. What that idea is rests upon 'Le Moi', although it seeks out the 'Ethical Life' by binding with its reflection, forming a single universal nation united in commonality. That is the concept of the State which he introduced as 'a single nation' in the elaboration on the State; the Statist concept of Sovereignty. In effect, the individual has been reformed into The State. Each and every member of the one single nation sees themselves reflected in The State by virtue of their self-conception 'le moi-absolu' and in fulfilment of their own self-determination. Besides being a good metaphor as for the television industry, this picture of homogeneity is imposed upon the Civil Society. The result is that the ultimate goal turns out to be its origin, that is, the Individual incarnated as The State. This methodology became quite an art form in the first periods of recorded history, in Egypt. In

this manner, as the Pharaoh-deity was itself, the Sovereign power sought to maintain its memory in perpetuity by the monument to its denial of death, in essence similar to the Christian ideology, as maintained in the image of the State in self-pepetuation.³¹

In another instance Hegel maintains the Herderian notion of a single independent nation being equivalent to Civil Society, incarcerated by the State. For Hegel, and for many familiar with the State formation, it is only conceivable that a Civil Society exists by virtue of the presence of the State. The existence of the State, being a uniform homogenous body, is presumed to imprint itself upon the Civil Society, leaving a single unified nation in its image. However, the latter reference of Hegel's to the 'actual and organic mind (alpha) of a single nation (beta) reveals and actualizes itself through the inter-relation of the particular national minds ...' leads to the collective consciousness maintained by the reciprocal inter-action amongst the members of a particular national culture, or, for that matter any self-cohesive cultural formation.

What the Civil society is becomes an interesting discussion in the wake of Hegel. The process of world-history that he refers to is the reciprocal existence of the national formations in any given Civil Society. On a world scale, the process that he refers to is also operative, in the microcosm of the Civil Society as well as world civil society. As he points out himself, "Since it

is the general rule that the particular is contained in the universal”²⁹. Thus the inter-nationalization that is put forward here is operative in any Civil Society.

If in Civil Society the majoritarian national culture takes precedence and assimilates the subordinated nationalities by means of the State, that would correspond to the notion of a single nation in a single State. Likewise, if there were to be a ‘universal world-mind whose right is supreme’, it would have to be constructed by the dominance of a single Nation-State which leads the process of world-history in its empire building. According to Hegel that would have been the State of Germany at the leading edge of a World State. More recently, this would be taken as a reference to the adopted role of the United States of America.

This schema is derived from ‘the free self-subsistence of the particular will’ contained in the elaboration of the State above. The isolation of the individual from other such members of Civil Society that follows does not serve to accomplish the stated goal of the actualization of a Civil Society. This concept of freedom in the embodiment of the State only serves to suppress the individual by its identification with the State. The existence of Civil Society itself is in doubt as a result, since individuals do not seem to have a need for Society if the State can provide for ‘self-subsistence of the particular will’.

²⁹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

3.3.5 Civil Society ([‘les moi’]/[‘the selves’])

While much in the literature of political theory has concerned the State, a lesser degree of devotion has been focussed on the nature and functioning of Civil Society. Perhaps it is not so much a difference of emphasis as it is a difference of interpretation which may be observed, if we turn again to Hegel in his description of the formation of the national mind.

At one point Hegel writes that a nation could be formed , “ [...] as a result of a voluntary association produced by the tie of needs and the reciprocity of their satisfaction”.³⁰ The reference to ‘needs’ is a fundamental criterion in the Hegelian methodology and its association with reciprocity, mutually reinforces the two concepts. This defining abstraction serves to take into consideration his previously mentioned characteristics of the Civil Society. This definition describes what is considered by the criterion of the Principle of Reciprocity in the relation of ‘le moi’ and ‘le non-moi’, as the mode of the particular consciousness.

The contrasting situation Hegel mentions is that of a nation which is formed of various families “under the influence of an overlord’s power”,³¹ in spite of the previous definition he offers. The dichotomy of the two situations

³⁰ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³¹ Hegel, *Ibid.*, p. 122.

did not escape the attention of Hegel, although he names both definitions 'a nation'. The postulated existence of Civil Society is necessitated by the popular consciousness of its existence. The closely related consciousness of the nation as the cultural identity of a People is not only a consequence of its common language, but also its pattern of logic in communicating its sense of reciprocal interests. Such a powerful and reoccurring social force is only reinforced by the related national minorities which co-exist in the Civil Society formed by the initiative of that nation. The sense of a Civil Society is lost when the heterogeneity of the Society is subsumed into the State by identifying all members of the Civil Society as being identical in their needs and interests to one another of the one nation. The universality conceived by the Statist perspective not only denies the particular national identities present but also the particular consciousness of the individual as a personality.

Another manner of approaching the matter of the legitimacy of the Civil Society is from the position of political economy, which considers the necessary conditions for social existence.

#198 The universal and objective element in work, on the other hand, lies in the abstracting process which effects the subdivision of needs and means and thereby 'eo ipso' subdivides production and brings about the division of labour. By this division, the work of the individual becomes less complex, and consequently his skill at his section of the job increases, like his output. At the same time, this abstraction of one man's skill and means of production from another's completes and makes necessary everywhere the dependence of men on one another and their reciprocal relation in the satisfaction of their

other needs. Further, the abstraction of one man's production from another's makes work more and more mechanical, until finally man is able to step aside and install machines in his place.

#199 When men are thus dependent on one another and reciprocally related to one another in their work and the satisfaction of their needs, subjective self-seeking turns into a contribution to the satisfaction of the needs of everyone else. That is to say, by a dialectical advance, (54) subjective self-seeking turns into the mediation of the particular through the universal, with the result that each man in earning, producing, and enjoying on his own account is eo ipso producing and earning for the enjoyment of everyone else. ... (54. The dialectical advance here is based on Hegel's doctrine of the reflective syllogism, for which see Enc., para. 190, and Macran: Hegel's Doctrine of Formal Logic (Oxford, 1912), p. 301)³²

It would be necessary to continue this thread of analysis into the system of logic that is put forward here, since the contention that 'the mediation of the particular through the universal' in the above, does not correspond to the preceding point in the logical development that relies upon the perception of social conditions being 'reciprocally related to one another'. This lack of differentiation between universalism and reciprocity corresponds to the lack of precision in not differentiating the State from Civil Society.

This lack of precision is not necessarily a consequence of the logical development being followed, but rather indicates the political interests and preferences being exhibited by the writer.

³² Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

#258 The State is absolutely rational inasmuch as it is the actuality of the substantial will which it possesses in the particular self-consciousness once that consciousness has been raised to consciousness of its universality. This substantial unity is an absolute unmoved in itself, in which freedom comes into its supreme right. On the other hand this final end has supreme right against the individual, whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State.³³

The fashionable idea that universality and equality are equal to freedom assumes the satisfaction of reciprocal interests by the mediation of the State in the affairs of Civil Society. It would seem that this intervention is considered to be 'absolute' and 'supreme', even though its justification rests upon such indeterminate factors as a 'substantial will' and 'substantial unity'. One has to assume that Hegel believed that his own interests represent that of the Civil Society itself, since he considered that "In duty the individual acquires his substantial freedom".³⁴₃₂ Elsewhere he writes, "the inter-penetration of the substantive and the particular [...] duty and right are united in one and the same relation [...]"³⁵ describing two differing concepts that become ambiguous by a dialectic that is peculiar to his methodology.

In contrast we may also read that,

³³ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³⁴ Hegel, *op. cit.*, #149, p. 107.

³⁵ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

A person by distinguishing himself from himself [Moi et non-Moi] relates himself to another person, (5) and it is only as owners that these two persons really exist for each other. Their implicit identity is realized through the transference of property from one to the other in conformity with a common will [unanimity] and without detriment to the rights of either. This is contract.³⁶₃₃

It is interesting to note the use of 'common will' as in the manner of Rousseau's 'general will'. Although it appears that such a collective consciousness only belongs to the propertied men of Society, nonetheless the point is made that mutual agreement is required for a social contract. The basis of social contract ('pactum civitatis') is then unanimity, if justice is to be served, rather than universality. It is to be observed in the course of the French Revolution that,

C'est dans l'état naissant que les individus découvrent qu'ils possèdent des droits fondamentaux et inaliénables, et c'est dans l'état naissant qu'ils les proclamant collectivement, comme volonté unanime du groupe. Reprenons l'exemple des événements de la Révolution française. La nuit du 4 août, dans un climat d'enthousiasme et d'émotion violente, a été votée, à l'unanimité, la fin des privilèges féodaux. La même atmosphère fiévreuse et exaltante se poursuit jusqu'à la nuit du 26 août, lorsqu'est votée la Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, encore une fois à l'unanimité.³⁷₃₄

The distinction made between homogeneity and heterogeneity in the

³⁶ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

³⁷ Francesco Alberoni, *Sentiments Humains*, Genesi, Garzanti Editore, 1989, Ramsay, 1992.

nature of Civil Society provides the basis for the conception that is differentiated from uniformity and exhibits a Pluralist culture of Civil Society, as defined by the common/general will. Universalism in social identity, on the other hand, is associated with the unitary soul identified by religion as the defining criterion of the nation. The national soul is then housed in the State, as if it were the Law in the Tabernacle. Hegel puts it in the following manner, "church and state differ in form, they do not stand opposed in content" ³⁸. Edgar Bauer placed the emphasis of his attention on the two while writing his *Der Streit : der Kritik mit Kirche und Staat* (The Struggle : Critique of Church and State) in 1844. The introduction of State religion, as in the efforts of Emperor Constantine, formed the Holy Roman Empire with the intention of obscuring the question of the State per se. As a consequence of this ideological rationalization, religious ideology and the State are intimately identified with each other.

3.3.6 Pluralism (['les moi et les autrui']/['the selves and the others'])

A long-standing history precedes us, marking a great divide between that which is most familiar and that which is considered unknown, in effect 'foreign, alien'. This is a natural inclination in the thinking process, as one's personal sense of competence is linked to the culture most dominant in the

³⁸ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

immediate social environment. In the extreme, it is likely that ethnocentrism becomes self-serving - in the possessive sense - by accumulating resources for oneself, or only for those others of the 'same-self'. That same inclination also ensures that one's own resources are augmented by taking possession of the resources of others, including other people in their entirety. Aristotle refers to that prevailing consciousness of; "Hellenes do not like to call themselves slaves, but confine this term to barbarians".³⁹

The subjective rationale behind the conclusion that such physical appropriation as slavery is justifiable rests on the empirical perspective that one's capabilities are best suited for a particular cultural environment and as such, a given social environment allows those certain personal characteristics to flourish, unlike those of others. Consequently, the illusion generated by such an exclusive circular existence is if one wishes to believe in the 'necessary' fulfilment of one's personally established capabilities then it becomes appropriate to regard the existence of any other culture as being lesser in its degree of fulfilment, and so, presumably personally inferior. Considered as such, this presupposition allows for the exploitation of the 'other' based on the implication of inferiority, nurtured by an isolated social environment.

³⁹ K.R.Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies, The High Tide of Prophecy : Hegel, Marx and the Aftermath*, London, Routledge & Kegan, 1962, p. 2.

To break through ('aufheben') the restricted perspective of an ethnocentric environment, it is necessary to recognize the heterogeneity of one's society in its social composition without differentiating with respect to social or national rights. In this way, a pluralist society composed of an independent nation and various autonomous nationalities is elaborated.

As Fichte presented it,

it is the sweetest reward of Philosophy that looking upon all things in their mutual dependence, and upon nothing as isolated and alone she finds all to be necessary and therefore good, and accepts that which is, as it is, because it is subservient to a higher end.⁴⁰

Herder names this pluralism 'Zusammenwirken' or joint endeavours, and uses the term 'nomocracy' to describe this social system.⁴¹ Herder's editor F.M. Barnard comments,

⁴⁰ J.G. Fichte, 'Idea of Universal History', *Characteristics of the Present Age and The Way Towards The Blessed Life or The Doctrine of Religion*, Significant Contributions To the History of Psychology 1750-1920, Series A, Orientations, Volume II, Washington, D.C., University Publications America, 1977.

⁴¹ J.G. Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1969, pp. 8-9.

This interactive and reciprocal building up of new societal and political goals within a socio-cultural continuum represents for Herder the true purpose of human association, the creative, continuous development of man.⁴²

3.3.7 Nations and Reciprocity

(['les moi'] et ['les moi']/['the selves'] and ['the selves'])

The formation of society, necessitated by the mutual interactions engendered by social and economic relations, is followed by the parallel consideration in the inter-nationals context. If the 'reciprocal physical influence' of members of the same society necessitates a contractual arrangement, then the same would hold true for Nations that live in proximity to, or exert an influence on the other.

We know, according to Locke, that; "Men living together according to reason without a common superior on earth, with authority to judge between them, is properly the state of Nature".⁴³ Accordingly, the Inter-Nationals context is a State of Nature, if the absence of a unitary State structure is accepted as its denotation. The presence of various treaties and accords, as

⁴² Herder, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴³ John Locke, *Two Treatises on Civil Government*, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

well as institutions of representative bodies indicates the possibility for the development of the global civil society despite the contradictions present. The development of a 'jus gentium' (rights of nations) is postulated by various writers. Some indications in this direction are contained in Kant's *Perpetual Peace*, in his Section II 'Containing the Definitive Articles for a Perpetual Peace Among States';

With men, the state of nature ('status naturalis') is not a state of peace, but of war; though not of open war, at least, ever ready to break out. A state of peace must therefore be established; for, in order to be sheltered against every act of hostility, it is not sufficient that none is committed; one neighbour must guarantee to another his personal security, which cannot take place except in a state of legislation; without which one may treat another as an enemy, after having in vain demanded this protection.*

* The common opinion is, that one dares act hostilely only against an aggressor; and this is true, when both live in a state of civil legislation. For, on entering into it, they reciprocally guarantee to themselves the requisite security, by the common obedience which they pay to the sovereign. But the man, or the nation, that live in a state of nature, deprives me of that security, and attacks me without being an aggressor, by the mere circumstance of living contiguous to me, in a state of anarchy and without laws; menaced perpetually by him with hostilities, against which I have no protection, I have a right to compel him, either, to associate with me under the dominion of common laws, or to quit my neighbourhood.

Here is a principle then, upon which all the subsequent articles are established:

All men, who have a mutual influence over one another, ought to have a civil constitution. Now every legitimate constitution, considered in respect of the persons who are the object of it, is

I. Either conformable to the 'civil right', and is limited to a people ('jus civitatis').

II. Or to the 'rights of nations', and regulates the relations of nations among each other ('jus gentium').

III. Or to the 'cosmopolitical right', as far as men, or states, are considered as influencing one another, in quality of constituent parts of the great state of the human race ('jus cosmopoliticum').

This division is not arbitrary; but necessary in respect of the idea of a perpetual peace. For, if two nations, under one of these three relations, were in a state of nature, and having reciprocal physical influence upon each other, the state of war would be immediately revived, to be freed from which is the present end in view.⁴⁴

While the members of a given civil society have been assimilated to a particular State providing uniformity to the State of Nature from which we derive, the same political device does not function in the context of Inter-Nationals relations₃₅, as States are exclusive and will not seek to be subsumed by any other such structure. Evidently, one cannot live under two States at the same time, according to the attribute of sovereignty. So there is a fundamental flaw in the Statist system of international relations. Hegel took note of this difference in contexts;

⁴⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 10-11.

#332 The subject matter of these contracts, [between States] however, is infinitely less varied than it is in civil society, because in civil society individuals are reciprocally interdependent in the most numerous respects, while autonomous states are principally wholes whose needs are met within their own borders.⁴⁵

However Nations on the other hand, may nonetheless treat each other as if they existed in the reciprocal framework of any given civil society. Simon Dubnow treats this matter concluding that “the realization of my national rights must never go beyond the point at which the rights of my neighbors, members of other nationalities, begin to be impaired”.⁴⁶ The prospect of such a global civil society is presented by Kant;

This would be a federation of nations, without the people however forming one and the same state, the idea of a state supposing the relation of a sovereign to the people, of a superior to his inferior. Now several nations, united into one state, would no longer form but one; which contradicts the supposition, the question here being of the reciprocal rights of nations, inasmuch as they compose a multitude of different states, which ought not to be incorporated into one and the same state.⁴⁷

This then addresses the contradiction of the United Nations, where each single State necessarily encompasses more than one Nation since there exists some 3000 Nations and only 194 States. Quite appropriately, Kant rejects the

⁴⁵ Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Oxford University Press, 1949, #332, p. 213.

⁴⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁴⁷ Kant, *Ibid.*, p. 18.

possibility of all the various nations being united under one state, this being in violation of the rights of nations. Like Herder, he rejected the common practice of empire by which various independent nations are incorporated into one state. Kant poses the question himself and offers his solution, in theory.

But if this state should say, 'There shall not be war between us and other states, although we do not acknowledge a supreme power, that guarantees our reciprocal rights'; upon what then can this confidence in one's rights be founded, except it is upon this free federation, this supplement of the social compact which reason necessarily associates with the idea of public right. [...]

At the tribunal of reason, there is but one mean of extricating states from this turbulent situation, in which they are constantly menaced with war; namely, to renounce, like individuals, the anarchic liberty of savages, in order to submit themselves to coercive laws, and thus form a society of nations ('*civitas gentium*') which would insensibly embrace all the nations of the earth. But as the ideas which they have of public right, absolutely prevent the realization of this plan, and make them reject in practice what is true in theory, there can only be substituted, to the positive idea of an universal republic (if all is not to be lost) the negative supplement of a permanent alliance, which prevents war, insensibly spreads, and stops the torrent of those unjust and inhuman passions, which always threaten to break down this fence.*

"*Furor impius intus fremit horridus ore cruento*". Virgil.⁴⁸

The society of nations ('*civitas gentium*') is nonetheless faced with the contradiction of having to construct a federation with an amalgam of states.

⁴⁸ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

This contradiction is fundamental and in and of itself poses the abolition of the State structures themselves in favour of federated societies - as is presented in the federated civil society of nations and their societies. Nonetheless, Kant suggests that a manner of proceeding would be;

For if fortune should so direct, that a people as powerful as enlightened, should constitute itself into a republic (a government which in its nature inclines to a perpetual peace) from that time there would be a centre for this federative association; other states might adhere thereto, in order to guarantee their liberty according to the principles of public right; and this alliance might insensibly be extended.⁴⁹

The contradiction between the Federation and the State-centre would eventually lead to the situation rejected in its first instance, empire. No doubt the United States of America takes itself to be that State-centre (despite its limited federation of States), so acting out the role of the Prince in the scenario propagated by Machiavelli or rather, Hobbe's 'Leviathan'.

3.4 The State

3.4.1 Society and The State

⁴⁹ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

As the discussion has unfolded to include the extrapolations from individuality to the whole, the bridges to be constructed between these parallel conceptions corresponds to this methodology offered by Fichte;

the general mass of individuals who have thereby come into combination, considered as a completed Whole, are either 'All without exception subjected to the Whole', that is, to the common purposes of All, - as it should be in the Perfect State; or 'they are not All subjected to the Whole'. The latter case, where All are not subjected to the Whole, can only be supposed possible in this way, - that the 'subjected' at least are All subjected, - that the subjectors have not, on their part, subjected themselves reciprocally to the others and to the necessary purposes which are common to the others and to themselves.⁵⁰

The principle of Reciprocity provides the methodology by which the society as a whole can be viewed apart from the perspective of 'le Moi absolu'. The formal contradiction in considering the existence of free individual persons within a society dissolves through the action of the reciprocal dynamics of mutual obligation. Although the State is treated by Fichte here as if it were the Society, the discussion concerns society.³⁶

The first condition of a State, and the first essential characteristic of our idea of it, as stated above, is this: 'That Freemen must at first become subject to the will and superintendence of other Freemen'.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

⁵¹ Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

This need not be considered as a static equilibrium of delimitations supervised by the State, but rather as a dynamic equilibrium of mounting potential. Thus the reciprocity of existence provides a methodological format which illuminates the necessary relations of freely coordinated interaction. The means by which such interaction becomes concretized is contained in the elaboration of 'Right' in the context of relative unity.

That all the individual members of the State, without exception, are subjected to the purpose of the Whole. [...] in such a constitution, therefore, every one has a Right to which all other men without exception are subjected. Equality of 'Right' for all men 'as Right' [...] absolutely no Individual can propose any purpose to himself, and devote himself to its furtherance, which is his own merely and not at the same time the purpose of the whole Community.⁵²

It should thus be recognized that for any 'Right' to be a principle necessity, it must necessarily regard others as possessing the identical 'Right' for themselves. It is in this manner and only in this manner that a 'Right' may exist at all, considering that by acting without context in negation of the other's 'Right', the principle itself is negated, and with it the 'Right' of all. Therefore the unreciprocated 'Right' acts to annul itself. The consequence of this contradiction is that,

the subjectors have consequently subjected the others to their 'own' particular purpose; [...] [which] must necessarily be the purpose of ruling for the sake of ruling. [...] 'the absolute inequality of the members of the State', who are divided into the classes of Rulers and Ruled [...]]⁵³

⁵² Fichte, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁵³ Fichte, *idem.*, p. 167.

As Hegel puts it, "[...] as a member of 'civil society' he finds in fulfilling his duties to it [...] he completely fulfils his duties by performing tasks and services for the 'state' ".⁵⁴ In actuality, the 'common will' Hegel refers to is transformed into his statement that, "The state is the divine will".⁵⁵ In precise terms, Hegel treats the State as being composed of the Legislative, the Executive and the Crown. The concept of the 'sovereignty of the people' is treated to the critique that it is, "one of the confused notions based on the wild idea of the 'people' ".⁵⁶ In conclusion, Hegel abolishes the concept of Civil Society entirely in favour of the State,

Taken without its monarch and the articulation of the whole which is the indispensable and direct concomitant of monarchy, the people is a formless mass and no longer a state.⁵⁷

The net result of the Hegelian dialectic is the counter positioning of the State to civil society, with the subsequent proposition for the abolition of the latter.

Whether this nullification of Civil Society is possible in the light of the fundamental interactions that constitute that civil society is doubtful, even according to Hegel, again in this other instance;

⁵⁴ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

⁵⁵ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

⁵⁶ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁵⁷ Hegel, *Idem.*, p. 182.

#332 [...] The subject matter of these contracts, [between States] however, is infinitely less varied than it is in civil society, because in civil society individuals are reciprocally interdependent in the most numerous respects, while autonomous states are principally wholes whose needs are met within their own borders.⁵⁸

It would seem that the State is dependent for its existence upon the civil society. The State is wholly constituted as a result of the cohesion of the Nations, which remain its Form, while the Content remains a contradiction of the State imposing itself upon Civil Society.

The operative, Principle of Reciprocity, which is functional in civil society, is not operational in the context of the State or its interactions, except in the negative sense or under duress. This corresponds to the differentiation made between the Inter-Nationals relations of national cultures and the International system of State functioning.

By affirming the reciprocal nature of civil society, unlike the State, Hegel can be seen to be defining society in the same terms, so leading to the conclusion that it is Civil Society that is construed as the society, and not the State.

#340 [...] The principles of the national minds (83) are wholly restricted on account of their particularity, for it is in this particularity that, as existent individuals, they have their objective actuality and their self-consciousness. Their deeds and destinies in their reciprocal relations to one another are the dialectic of the finitude of these minds, and out of it arises the universal mind, the mind of the world, free from all restriction, producing itself as that which exercises its right - and its right is the highest right of all - over

⁵⁸ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

these finite minds in the 'history of the world which is the world's court of judgement'.⁵⁹

It is here that the nature of Inter-nationals relations are put forward as the reciprocal relations of particular National Minds. And, as it is in the nature of Civil Society to maintain its cohesion by the dynamic of reciprocal relations, it is the Civil Societies that are necessarily referred to in this instance as well in the course of the elaboration of that analogy - 'the mind of the world'. The State is subsequently unnecessary in such a development of Inter-Nationals relations, as is presented here. The actuality of the national mind is found in its Idea of itself as the Civil Society forming itself out of itself in mutual recognition.

#156. The ethical substance, as containing independent self-consciousness united with its concept, is the actual mind of a family and a nation.

#157. The concept of this Idea; has being only as mind, as something knowing itself and actual, because it is the objectification of itself, the movement running through the form of its moments.(17)⁶⁰

The mistaken belief that individual liberties are guaranteed by the State rather than the collectivity is based upon a counter position of collective rights versus individual rights scenario. In absence of a recognizance of the reciprocal relation of various Minds in the collectivity itself, the false dichotomy of Collectivity and Individual is formed. It is thus argued that the security of individual existence requires the intervention of the State. In light of the 'ethical order' referred to above in the context of the national mind, it is clear even in Hegel that Individuality and its personality are integral to the civil

⁵⁹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁶⁰ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

society:

#153 The right of individuals to be subjectively destined to freedom is fulfilled when they belong to an actual ethical order, because their conviction of their freedom finds its truth in such an objective order, and it is in an ethical order that they are actually in possession of their own essence or their own inner universality.⁶¹

Individual freedoms then do not exist in isolation from social interaction, but rather in the context of social interaction which provides for the needs and the provision of such freedoms.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, continued this discussion by arguing for the process whereby,

Liberty is man's right to make use of his facilities, and to do so as he pleases. But there can be no doubt that it does not include the right to abuse. [...] political liberty will for us be the result of mutual guarantees. It is through guaranteeing each other's liberty that we will be able to do without this government whose objective it is to exemplify the republican motto: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, leaving to our intelligence the task of bringing it about.⁶²

3.5 The Federation of Society and The Society of Federations

Proudhon continues his argumentation to itemize the prior conditions for constituting Society, i.e. formulating a constitution following from the

⁶¹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶² P-J Proudhon, *Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1969.

developments above;

[...] it is the idea of contract that we must take to be the principle idea in politics.

What is meant, first of all, by contract?

'A contract {Civil Code, article 1101} is an agreement by which one or more persons oblige themselves to one or more others to perform or to refrain from some action.

Article 1102: It is 'synallagmatic' or 'bilateral' when the contracting parties undertake reciprocal obligations. ...

Article 1104: It is 'commutative' when each of the parties undertakes to give something which is regarded as equal in value to what the other party gives or does in return'

The political contract does not attain its full dignity and morality except where

1) it is confined, in its object, within definite limits - two conditions which are held to exist in the democratic system, by which, even there, are generally only a fiction. Can one say that in a representative and centralized democracy, or in a constitutional monarchy with restricted franchise, or even more in a communist republic such as Plato's can be equal and reciprocal? Can one say that these contracts, which remove from the citizens a half their product, are confined within just limits? It would be closer to the truth to say that, as experience shows only too often, contracts in such systems are excessive, onerous, for they provide no compensation for a good many of those who are parties to them; and *aleatory*, for the promised advantage, inadequate as it is, is not even guaranteed.

In order for the political contract to become synallagmatic and commutative as the idea of democracy requires, in order for it to remain within reasonable limits and to become profitable and convenient for all, the citizen who enters the association must

1) have as much to gain from the state as he sacrifices to it,

2) retain all his liberty, sovereignty, and initiative, except that which he must abandon in order to attain that special object for which the contract is made, and which the state must guarantee. So confined and understood, the political contract is what I shall call a 'federation'.

Federation, from the Latin 'foedus', genitive 'foederis', which means pact, contract, treaty, agreement, alliance, and so on, is an agreement by which one or more heads of family, one or more towns, one or more groups of towns or states, assume reciprocal and equal commitments to perform one or more specific tasks, the responsibility for which rests exclusively with the officers of the federation.⁶³

It is observed here that such a process can be internalized as well, to regard the indigenous constituents of Society which form autonomous groups, as in this reference to Proudhon.

In a chapter which contrasts 'federal Gaul' and 'monarchical France', he detects in the hard-pressed 'nations' or Gallic tribes [...] he often wrote as though the local or regional communities which were to constitute federations were in some sense primordial or natural, pre-political entities whose distinct characters required political defence and political expression. In the light of this we have a further substantive criterion for federalism, the political representation of cultural difference, and a further necessary condition for federalism's emergence: the existence of diversity.⁶⁴

This then provides the process of argumentation to elaborate the concept of Federalism as it should be constituted in Reciprocity. This may be expressed

⁶³ P.-J. Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979, (from *Du Principe fédératif et de la nécessité de reconstituer le parti de la révolution*), p. 36.

⁶⁴ R. Verson, 'Introduction' to Proudhon, *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

as sovereignty-association, national-cultural autonomy, a Common Market, Union, or any variety of politico-economic formations, including the independent territorialist Society.

3.6 Conclusions

3.6.1 Nations in the Inter-Nationals Context

The existence of diversity in the form of the Kébèk Civil Society within the State formation of Canada has not been reciprocated by the recognition of such an autonomous nation. Such recognition does not appear to be forthcoming. It arises then that the independence of Kébèk will follow, in striving to achieve mutually beneficial relations. Likewise, Canada will be obliged to re-examine its relations with the U.S.A., in the development of its identity as an independent society as well. Internally, within Kébèk, the same (or rather, similar) situation prevails with respect to the native Peoples and other minority nationalities (see Appendix D, 'Nations in the Inter-Nationals Context').

With respect to the continuous warfare in Israeli-Palestinian relations; the absolutist nature of the Zionist ideology has demonstrated its self-contradiction in principle by refusing to recognize the national liberation movement of the Palestinian People, while maintaining its pretense to the sole national liberation movement of the Jewish People. Apart from this particular contradiction, the U.S.A.'s satellite named The State of Israel evidently seeks to pursue national independence by replicating, to one degree or another (depending on the relation of forces), the prevailing means of oppression to which the Jewish people themselves have been subjected to. National liberation for the Jewish People must arise in the inter-nationals context in

which it is situated, through national cultural autonomy within pluralist societies, and independent formations living in reciprocal recognition.

3.6.2 Theorem of Reciprocity

Si, 'le Moi = le Moi' (par définition)

donc,

'le Moi = pas le Non-Moi' (par conséquence)

cela veut dire,

'le Non-Moi = pas le Moi' (par inverse)

en conclusion,

'le Non-Moi = pas le Moi = pas le Non-Moi'

et en effet,

'le Non-Moi = pas le non-Moi'

et aussi,

'le Moi = pas le Moi'

en contradiction avec la prémisse et le premier principe;

et par la conséquence,

'le Moi = le Non-Moi'

pour annuler la contradiction.

C'est la Principe de Réciprocité déterminée ici par tel déduction et en effet démontré par la négation de la contradiction inhérent dans la supposition que ;

'le Moi = pas le Non-Moi'

cela veut dire que,

'le Moi' implique 'le Non-Moi' qui implique 'le Moi'.³⁷

A corollary would be that the formal logic which led to the contradiction is due to the lack of the ability of reflection; it does not consider the inverse and ignores its contradiction. This is to be seen in the inverse of 'le Non-Moi' and 'le Moi' in terms of preference, thus leading to the inevitable contradiction. The inverse or reflection is the methodological criterion.

Following from the reference to scientism in Chapter I, one may find the allusions that;

One sees distinctly the influence of Hegel, whose disciple Marx had been. None but the 'Philosopher of the Absolute,' the inventor of 'historical necessities' and 'historic missions' could have imparted to him such self-assurance of judgment. Only Hegel could have imparted to him the belief that he had reached the foundations of the 'laws of social physics,' according to which every social phenomenon must be regarded as a deterministic manifestation of the

naturally necessary course of events. In fact, Marx's successors have compared 'economic materialism' with the discoveries of Copernicus and Kepler, and no less a person than Engels himself made the assertion that, with this interpretation of history, socialism had become a science.⁶⁵

The futility of linear causality was apparent even during the eighteenth century as Herder points out;

the emergence and further development of a nation is never other than a work of destiny, the result of a thousand concurrent causes and, in a way, of the entire element in which it lives. And this being so, is it not childish to base this development on a few bright ideas and to imagine that this constitutes a scientific revolution?⁶⁶

and Proudhon,

notre système social est compliqué, beaucoup plus qu'on ne l'avait cru [...] Là se découvre une pensée, une vie intime collective qui évolue en dehors des lois de la géométrie et de la mécanique; qu'il répugne d'assimiler au mouvement rapide, uniforme, infaillible d'une cristallisation; dont la logique ordinaire, syllogistique, fataliste, unitaire, est incapable de rendre compte; mais qui s'explique merveilleusement à l'aide d'une philosophie plus large, admettant dans un système la pluralité des principes, la lutte des éléments, l'opposition des contraires et la synthèse de tous les indéfinissables et absolus (32)₃₈⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, St. Paul, Minn., Michael E. Coughlin, (1947) 1978, p. 23

⁶⁶ Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1969, p. 201.

⁶⁷ pierre haubtmann, *La Philosophie Sociale de P.-J. Proudhon*, presses universitaires de grenoble, 1980, p. 18.

By corollary, Statism is seen as an aspect of scientism, as if it is the state that constructs the nation by linear deduction.

3.6.3 Reciprocal Dialectic

The Will ('le Moi') and its other ('le Non-Moi') form a dialectic, synthesizing into a social whole based on a Principle of Reciprocity³⁹ and actualized as unanimity. The dialectic is activated by the social freedom generated by the collectivity operating without the external intervention of a State. The State acts by imposing a hierarchy and so short-circuiting the process by the imposition of its order, expressed as morality, a majority or some other ideological criterion counterposed to an ethical order generated by the nature of reciprocal interaction.

This reciprocal interaction is not to be understood as a simple linear reaction of only two identities alone. Rather, this is a dynamic in a collective sense, that is without limit. No one identity is unique unto itself, singular and isolated from other such identities. The Reciprocal Principle itself denotes that any identity is reciprocal to any other, not simply to one other, "...in the dialectical totality the individual elements incorporate the structure of the whole".⁶⁸ A simply analogy would be the interaction produced as a consequence of a chain reaction found in an explosion or eruption.

In terms of methodology the reciprocity of relations is found in the very nature of the dialectic;

⁶⁸ Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*, London, Merlin Press, 1968, p. 198.

From this we deduce the necessity of separating the merely objective dialectics of nature from those of society. For in the dialectics of society the subject is included in the reciprocal relations in which theory and practice become dialectical with reference to one another.⁶⁹

The role of the subject is found in the function of consciousness not only of the 'self' but of all the other identities existing, potentially aware of each other. The commonality of consciousness in the context of an existing mode of production is the class consciousness of each stratification, as well as the identity of each nationality in relation to itself and any other.

3.6.4 Social Dynamic

Perpetual change is maintained through the never-ending reciprocal action, whether inverse or mutual.

Reciprocal action becomes mutual when equilibrium is maintained. The triad as a social construct is thus a more stable social entity due to the range of possibilities conceived. The means of mutual reaction become more probable among a collective than it is between two in exclusion of the third, since what one may not be capable of, another may be. That probability is limited in the duality and theoretically unlimited in the triad is due to the presence of another intervening option without an absolute relation. The operation of communicating with another necessarily alters the former and thus generates an alternative to the latter which is itself an alternative.. so implying perpetual change - permanent revolution.

⁶⁹ Lukacs, *Ibid.*, p. 207.

3.6.5 Natural Law-Code/La Loi-Code Naturel

- 1) Principle of Identity/Principe d'Identité
- 2) Principle of Reason/Principe de Raison
- 3) Principle of Reciprocity/Principe de Réciprocité
 - 3.1) Right of Auto-determination/
Droit d'Autodétermination
- 4) Principle of Federation/Principe Fédéral
- 5) Principle of Right/Principe de Droit

* * * *

NOTES

CHAPTER III

RECIPROCITY AND NATION

1. The term 'self-determination', used in the absolute sense of self-determined, is best translated as 'déterminé par soi-même', rather than 'auto-détermination' ('auto-determination').
2. As in Luc Ferry's reference to the writings of Fichte.
Luc Ferry, *philosophie politique : 2, le système des philosophies de l'histoire*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1984.
3. See Francesco Alberoni, *Sentiments Humains*, Genesi, Garzanti Editore 1992, Ramsay, 'Les institutions de réciprocité, 2. Réciprocité et droits', where the principle of reciprocity is used in an abstract dualistic sense. The reciprocal dialectic is unobserved in a context that lacks a sense of collectivity in terms other than the duality, as in the religious idolatry of the self and its deity or any idolatry: Collectivism other than uniformity is ruled out of consideration, as if the party formation is an inevitability in the social movement context, thus adopting the organizational methodology of the party formation as a pre-State apparatus. The social matrix of national political culture is ruled out of order for lack of a materialist manifestation.
4. Referenced in the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1986.

5. A microcosm of this situation can be seen in the efforts by the central government of Ottawa, under the Prime Ministership of Pierre-Elliot Trudeau, to compel the capital of Québec to abandon its name as the National Capital, since Ottawa wished to reserve that term exclusively for itself.

6. Ahad Ha'am discusses the difference in conception of the 'self' and the 'other' in the context of the differences between Judaism and Christianity in his essay 'Judaism and the Gospels', pp. 289-319, *Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic*, New York, Schocken Books, (1910) 1962.

Likewise, one may mention the Separation Principle of Jabotinsky.

7. * 'le Moi' comme soi-même et 'le Moi' relativisé, as in the conception of Luc Ferry, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

8. From the point of view strictly logical, one can see that the position of a 'Non-Moi' is absolutely incompatible with that of an absolute 'Moi' which pretends to be the totality of reality [...]

9. Fichte, *Grundlage*, OCPP, p. 25 in Ferry,

the possibility of counterpoising itself supposes the identity of the conscience [...]

10. the difficulty consists again in the fact that it is impossible to pose one without posing the other, the logical construction which establishes them being rigorously parallel.

11. As in the nature of identical twins, who are nonetheless not the same as one another, although they are still identical. The essential nature of the two is identical, in Form, although in Content there are differing personalities present.

12. See the reference to Hegel and Scherer, page 71 of Ferry, *op. cit.* (i.e. 'la nation individualité'), as an extrapolation.

13. 'in itself, just for myself'
14. 'apart from myself'
15. Fichte, *Grundlage*, OCPP, p. 106.

the possibility of opposing it-self implies the identity of the conscience [...] consequently, the manner of positioning towards the opposite isn't possible other than by the identity of 'the Self'.

16. Fichte formulates this contradiction in the following fashion (I add a commentary within parenthesis):

If 'Moi' = 'Moi', all that which is posed in 'the Self' is posed. Or, the second principle must be posed (since it has the same logical presuppositions as those which one has admitted to pose at the first instant in 'the Self' (since 'the Absolute Self' contains all) and also is not posed in 'the Self' (because it's precisely 'a Non-Self'). By consequence, 'the Self' is not = 'the Self', but

'the Self' = 'the Non-Self'
and
'the Non-Self' = 'the Self'

(*Ibid.*, pp.27-28).

17. see conclusion; 3.6.3 Reciprocal Dialectic
18. It is convenient to underline that the two terms posed must necessarily be in that respect, to suppose themselves one and the other, they imply themselves reciprocally.
(Note: such an analytical development derives from Kant; see p. 194 of Ferry, *op.cit.*)

19. (quotations from Kant, *Projet de paix perpétuelle*, 1795)

for the purpose that there should be a constitution organized by which those people, 'who by their particular sentiments counterpoise one to the others', should be constrained by imposing a limit to their egoisms - they should come to understand little by little that their identical interest is to hold back their inclinations reciprocally, in a manner which comes to be in their public conduct a result identical to that which would be obtained if they didn't have those bad dispositions.

20. 'collective consciousness'
21. the idea of reciprocal action: 'the Self' and 'the Non-Self' sharing the totality of reality, their opposing quantities maintaining a rapport (harmony) of reciprocity, as in a system of forces.
22. to the first principle there corresponds reality, to the second, negation, to the third the limitation. Limitation explains itself in reciprocal action (of 'the Self' and 'the Non-Self' at the heart of 'the absolute Self')
23. the idea of perfect rationality as a principle of reflection
24. the Self determines itself, the Self is determined [...] the Self presents itself as limited by the Non-Self
25. If the absolute Self understands all of reality, in the sense where, it denies all reality, in the sense that, in so much like the absolute, it must, as indicated there already in the *Transcendental Dialectic* of Kant, to deny 'the external world and the temporality in its pretension to eternal self-sufficiency'. As long ago as at that time, the representation of Fichte [Fichte] appears as essentially 'refreshing' : he himself proceeds, in a purely negative dialectic, to reconstruct by deconstruction of the illusion by which the one there has eliminated being in their self pretension to absolutivity, being aware of the exterior and the finite subject situated in time.

26. By destroying the illusion of an absolute self - the 'theoretical' illusion of a 'preceding substructure' to the appearance of the world, of temporality and of intersubjectivity - the *Principles* transform this absolute self into a simple practical Idea opening humanity to its 'future'.
27. 'the absolute Nation' and 'the relative Nation'
28. the Being as Place, Neighborhood, Homeland
29. that which is set to demonstrate how the existence of the other is a theoretically possible condition, absolutely indispensable, to the consciousness of self ('Without you, there is no me, and without me, there is no you'), writes Fichte in the style which is his own
30. In the Trotskyist analysis, the significance of the term 'stages' becomes central to the methodology presented by 'Permanent Revolution'. Bronstein considers that the construct of a 'stage' before the event is akin to reformism or Bernsteinism. The intention of that opposing theory is to enable the preservation of the State by the administration of certain reforms in the relation between the Civil Society and that State. The government being required as an intermediary, thus justifies its own existence by justifying that of the State.
31. The proof of the ties between the Modern Nation-State and the Pharaonic conception of Authority is a link that requires the additional verification of the intervening links. In this manner Chapters I & V draw a lengthy perspective over 2000 years. And yet, since political studies usually make reference to only a period of 1000 years such an exercise may seem irregular and unnecessary, although in terms of human existence both periods are very limited. However one may notice that to limit the period of political studies to 1000 years, as if the origins lay in the Hellenistic era, is to limit oneself to the Christian epoch as marked by the current Occidental calendar in use. Naturally, to overcome this ethnocentric/theocratic view, the previous

periods should be studied as well to provide the essential linkages to the origins of concepts. This is one of a number of methodologies that are provided to coalesce a coherent critique of the State.

The problem with being limited to the period of the Christian epoch is the fundamentalist dynamic that is currently expressed by a third of the USA's population which identifies with the evangelical movement that forms a political base of support for both the Republican Party administrations and the Zionist State movement. The alliance with the Zionist movement is based in the inspiration derived from the Zionist ally amongst the Jewish people thus satisfying the 'Judeo-Christian' heritage of the new chosen people, the Christian community of believers. The role played by the Holocaust is tied to the conception of the 'Revelation' prophecies which consider the remaining Zionist faction of the Jewish People to be a Christianized ally while the Jewish Bund and the Jewish communists were the 'Children of the Devil'. This methodology projects a generalized Holocaust in the projected Crusade to destroy those who do not submit to the Authority of the Christian Churches and States. The Islamic 'Jihad' in reciprocity, is but its reflection.

32. Somewhat reminiscent of the slogan "Arbeit macht frei" (Work shall make you free), found above the entranceway to the Auschwitz slave-death camps. The Nazi political economy was based in the prospect of mass slavery for Slavic, Russian and Jewish Peoples. This policy was implemented to the extent that literally millions of slave-workers were composed of captured nations.

33. see also para. # 323, 331.

34. Francesco Alberoni, professor of Sociology at the University of Milan, collaborator at the journal *I Corriere della Sera*, Milan, researcher specialized in collective movements.

35. Inter-Nationals relations in the Herderian sense of 'Humanität' (see J.G. Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1969, p. 8.)

36. The use of the term 'State' here resembles Society, both of which result in an ambiguous meaning since they each refer to the same apparatus. In this instance Fichte (or the translator) is using the term State to mean the Society.

37. If, 'the Self = the Self' (by premise)

then,

'the Self does not = the Non-Self'

and so,

'the non-Self does not = the Self' (by inverse or in reflection)

and consequently in conclusion,

'the non-Self does not = the Self does not = the Non-Self'

or, in effect;

'the non-Self does not = the Non-Self' (by deduction)

and,

'the Self does not = the Self'

in contradiction to the premise in first instance;

therefore,

let 'the Self = the Non-Self'

to annul the contradiction.

This is the principle of Reciprocity deduced and proven in this fashion.

'The Self = The Non-Self'

in order to annul the contradiction.

That is the Principle of Reciprocity developed here by such a deduction and in effect proven by the negation of the contradiction inherent in the assumption that

'the Self does not = the Non-Self'

that is to say,

the Self implies the Non-Self which implies the Self.

38. 32. *Théorie de la propriété*, p. 229. Voir aussi *Correspondance*, VII, p. 117 ; XII, p. 338, 339 ('Introduction', p. VIII).

39. It is possible to say by way of this Principle that logic itself is a 'processus' which satisfies the exigencies of reciprocity. La logike est un processus qui respect les exigences de la réciprocité.

CHAPTER IV

OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON NATIONHOOD

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4.1 Geo-Politics¹

The Land of Palestine/Israel/Canaan/Kana'an has attracted ideological connotations for various world cultural movements such as Islam (and its derivations), Judaism, Rastafarianism as well as Oriental, Orthodox, and Occidental Christianity. Canaan has also become a focal point for the exercise of national aspirations and political programs. The significance of this plot of land has become inflated beyond recognition because of competing rivalries. Most notably, in his work on the origins of Jerusalem and Palestine, the Palestinian scholar Mohammed Adib Aamiry concluded with a quotation from Nahum Goldman, the former president of the World Jewish Congress and of the World Zionist Organization who is here recorded as saying;

The Jews might have had Uganda, Madagascar and other places for the establishment of a Jewish Fatherland, but they want absolutely nothing except Palestine; not because the Dead Sea water by Self-evaporation can produce five trillion dollars' worth of metalloids and powdered metal, not because the subsoil of Palestine contains twenty time more petroleum than all the combined reserves of the two Americas, but because Palestine constitutes the veritable centre of world political power, the strategic center for world control [sic].²

It is plausible that Nahum Goldman would have made such a statement prior to becoming disillusioned with Zionism. He died soon after the 1982

¹ abraham Weizfeld, Chapter includes doctoral essay for Prof. Thierry Hentsch

² Mohammed Adib Aamiry, *Jerusalem: Arab Origins and Heritage*, London, Longman Group Ltd., 1978, p. 52.

Israel State invasion of Lebanon. Herzl, in fact referred to Jerusalem as being needed because of its role “ ‘as an Archimedean point’⁽¹⁰⁴⁾₁”³ It is also interesting to note that the writer Aamiry does not dispute the claim of Palestine and Jerusalem being ‘the strategic center’ and by leaving this quotation as the last thought, seems to concur in that estimation.

Such a position of eminence, though, would be in contradiction to the eminence of Mecca and even the second most esteemed Islamic centre, Medina₂. As well, the Zionist claim to Canaan(Kana’an)/Palestine ignores the various national contexts and influences upon the Jewish People. Whether Palestine indeed represents the strategic centre for world control or not, it has become the focal point for contestation and battle between the traditionalist Arab Nations and Islamic culture of the Orient, against the modernist Occidental power of the Zionist movement in both its non-Jewish and Jewish facets.

The Zionist movement itself is a Modernist trend exploiting a symbol to represent an ancient historical tradition. In the name of that distant past tradition, it has placed itself in opposition to an existing traditional indigenous society in the expectation of successfully negating if not destroying it. As a modernist movement, Zionism is an anomaly because it rejects European modernism. While rejecting, on the one hand, European universalism, as it has proved exclusionary to the Jewish People, yet paradoxically, Zionism affirms Universality insofar as it concerns the State of Israel, when it itself is to represent what is Universal.

³ Adelwahab M. Elmessiri, *The Land of Promise*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, North American, 1977, p. xv.

The notion of Nation is ambiguous in that the nation-state is assumed to represent only one nation and is for that reason considered to be its equivalent; that is, the nation is supposed to be coincidental with the nation-state. Herein lies the agony of many countries which dismiss the existence of national cultures other than the official one, be it majoritarian or not. Majoritarianism, or democracy as it is known, is considered a justification for the most irrational of attitudes towards subordinate nationalities. The fact that the nation-state does not necessarily represent the various nationalities within its confines means the inevitable dislocation and perhaps the dissolution of the State, together with its uniformity. However, it is likely that the power of the State's military would be turned inward, against its own citizenry in the attempt to impose a homogeneity cast in its own image (the ideological image of the dominant nationality).

The emancipation offered by the various anti-feudal revolutions (the bourgeois and proletarian) only achieved a transfer of that centralized power from one stratum to another, or even from one class to another, but without the abolition of the power principle itself, and with the least advantaged strata being unable to restrain the means of coercion.

For the Jewish nationalities who comprise a Nation, Universalism has been rather ambiguous, because although the Jewish people have been members of a given society and citizens of a given State, they have also been members of a Nation (and perhaps a belief in Judaism). Dual nationality has not been acceptable to the 'principle of universality' because this conception is based in homogeneity and assumes a minimal uniformity, conducive to assimilation. The basic unit in the State was conceived as the individual citizen endowed with The Rights of Man, as if there exists only one nationality composed of the male gender alone in the society at large. In fact, to enjoy

universal rights, it has been and is a de facto requirement to become the 'universal man', a modernist. For the Jewish people of the Occident, this has not really been a matter of choice, since 'the Jews' were and are excluded by definition from the nation in occidental terms by not being from the universal national culture, even though Jewish people are of that society nonetheless.³

The arch Gentile-Zionist Balfour was quite clear and antagonistic in this respect. For him;

The Jews were seen as an 'alien and even hostile [...] Body' whose existence in Western civilization had caused 'age-long miseries', for this civilization could neither expel nor absorb the Body. Balfour declared that on account of their mode of existence and their alienation, the Jews 'loyalty to the State in which they dwell is (to put it mildly) feeble compared to their loyalty to their religion and their race.'⁴

His use of the term 'race', common to the previous century, is here distinguished from religion, lending itself to be regarded as a substitute for nationality.

Although Universality has necessitated the separation of the Church and State in order to safeguard national sovereignty and to arrange a truce between warring sectarian denominations within Occidental Christianity, it has not meant that cultural religiosity is separate from the particular notion of the nation. The essence of this institutional separation is the independence of the nation-state from the vertically integrated Catholic Church as it is centred in the Vatican city-state; thus the occidental nation while based in Christianity is not dependent upon the Church per se. This is what is meant by the separation

⁴ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

of the church and the State, and although it is considered a principle in liberal democratic theory, it is not implemented insofar as the universal culture of the Western nation-state takes for granted Christianity among its determinants.

Given the presumption of cultural homogeneity in the guise of Universalism, the 'Jews' were automatically excluded. The only apparent recourse has been to declare their assimilation into the dominant culture. This proves to be a temporary accommodation expected to end in conversion, much like the option presented by the Catholic Church in Spain which concluded with the expulsion of the Moors and the Jewish population (whether converted or not), ending the Golden Age of Jewish and Moorish culture.⁴

In response to the universalism of the Enlightenment, the Jewish people have largely fragmented into a spectrum of actualities which could adapt to new social environments and thereby achieve the equality offered by universal emancipation and democratic citizenship. Reform Judaism originally professed its assimilation to the German nation and subsequently the American State while adhering to a Jewish religious format and denying any Jewish national identification. This was a sort of quasi-assimilation based on the presumed separation of religion and nation, in line with the modernist context in which it was situated. The assimilationist intelligentsia likewise considered Judaism as a religious community solely, rather than a "body of culture"⁵.

The basis of such an orientation to the nation-state is the difference perceived between religion and national identity. This is a feature of

⁵ Simon Dubnow, *Nationalism and History: Essays on Old and New Judaism*, Cleveland & New York, Meridian Books, The World Publishing Co., Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961, p. 91.

Occidental culture which makes a division between secular and sacred life, even though these features remain nonetheless overlapped. Oriental cultures tend not to consider life-culture to be divided into a secular and a spiritual facet, in the sense that the validity of the spiritual sphere of life must extend to the former if it is to retain any validity. The principle behind Oriental monotheism is that all humans are creations from a common origin, 'one entity, and so all humans are essentially identical and fundamentally equal by consequence. Furthermore there does not exist a hierarchy of divine entities with different sets of powers reflecting the divisions of a society. The identification of the individual with the single sole deity signifies a certain mutual recognition amongst a given environment's set of individuals who then constitute an identifiable mutually recognized nation or nationality, so lending itself to become Pan-Arabism. It is not possible to differentiate the nation from the individuals by some religious mechanism, since the religion itself is founded in the national concept. This is so since a religion can be founded, but a nation exists organically, providing a social context.

Reform Judaism and the political analyst Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri in his *The Land of Promise*, draw a distinction between the Jewish religion and the Jewish people which is tantamount to adopting the Occidental methodology in order to justify an argument against Zionism. In so doing, by acceding to the Zionist self-definition as being the representative ideology of the Jewish people and then opposing Zionism, Elmessiri is obliged to oppose the concept of the Jewish identity per se in order to maintain his critique. Elmessiri's definition of the Zionist movement is the consensual position common to both the Arab anti-Zionist current and the Zionist movement itself;

[...] the present study, a general critique of political Zionism posits a minimum definition of that ideology, namely: It is a belief in Jewish peoplehood in a political sense which endows the Jews, as Jews, with specific political rights in a state of their own.⁶

The study provided by Alan R. Taylor, *L'Esprit Sioniste*, also begins with the same premise, indicated by the demarcation around the concept, " 'Peuple Juif' " ⁷.

Taylor and Elmessiri each represent variants on the same approach found in the Orientalist anti-Zionist critique. Elmessiri points to;

Political Zionism is indebted for its very origin and success to non-Jewish religio-colonialist ideas and forces. [...] the Christian restorationist movement [...] (which) viewed the Jew primarily as an instrument in its own scheme of salvation.⁸

Such emphasis largely removes the need to consider the additional powerful forces within the Jewish communities. The generalized alienation of Jewish communities from their given State gave rise to a favourable response by a large body of Jewish Zionists to the overture made available by the Christian authorities to attain State power in Palestine, having only been consecrated in the twentieth century. The Zionist response to universality perceived the policy of exclusion from the bourgeois nation-state (modelled in that particular national image) and thereby opted to affirm universality in its own image as well, following the drive for national auto-emancipation.⁵ This statist revolution of Zionism was bourgeois in conceptual terms, and in

⁶ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

⁷ Alan R. Taylor, *L'Esprit Sioniste*, Institute des Etudes Palestiniennes, 1977, p. xvi.

⁸ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

its fundamental aspects acceptable to the Occidental countries for a number of reasons; because it was based on the same notions of national-cultural sovereignty, did not challenge the Occidental status quo, conformed to the occidental Christian propensity for the return of the 'Jews' to 'Israel' (restorationism/dispensationalism) and proposed an exit for an unassimilable population, even while being acculturated to Occidental values. The Zionist doctrine actually represents the assimilated Occidental mentality, while expressing its alienated social context.

Taylor, while he presents a different process, ends up in the same place, for reasons of internal adaptation to modernism;

Jewish modernism spread out and multiplied, comprised of the movement of religious renewal called Reform Judaism; a cosmopolitan and assimilationist current within which a specific Jewish identity is entirely absorbed; the autonomous Jew, the Jewish workers' movement; the Hebrew Renaissance; the colonization of Palestine and Zionism.⁹

Taylor himself points out the logical culmination of the modernist trend (i.e. Zionism) in his statement of purpose;

The purpose of our study is the modernist revolution among the Jews. We examine in particular the Zionist movement which ends by constituting a major element of this revolution.¹⁰

While true enough, there is the additional question of explaining the dynamic to revolution in the first place. The fixation with Zionism leaves aside the

⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. xiv-xv.

¹⁰ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

heterogeneity of the Jewish political culture. This leads to a failure to differentiate Zionist ideology from Jewish political culture as a whole which exhibited a variety of responses in a revolutionary sense.

Although they may differ as to the dominant roots of Zionism, both writers favour Reform Judaism's conception of the Jews and its consequent non-Zionism stemming from its rejection of Jewish nationhood. Such a definition of Jewishness, which concedes the premise that Zionism represents Nationhood for Jewish People is a default condition arising from Zionist ideology itself. That conception of a Jewish people is essentially formed by the Zionist modernist methodology. Therefore, they are compelled by their rejection of Zionism to reject the idea of Jewish Nationhood. Taylor's modernist currents and Elmessiri's restorationist movement methodologies reflect Zionism in that Taylor accepts that Zionism is the logical outcome of the historical developments he lists - thus reinforcing Zionism and rejecting any means of Jewish national liberation other than Zionism. Elmessiri, while adding the consciousness of the compelling nature of Occidental society in the formation of Zionism, also accepts the Zionist hypothesis by effectively accepting its claim to be the national leadership of the Jewish People. As a result, it becomes convenient to identify with Reform Judaism's program for Jewish people; political assimilation and religious identification; "A just and permanent solution for the middle East conflict should be based on an awareness of the distinction between Zionism and Judaism [...]".¹¹ The Reform Judaic failing is a consequence of the lack of differentiation between the Jewish Nation and the State of Israel by failing to counterpose the Nation and State. The corresponding Taylor-Elmessiri perspective only recognizes the State and its nationalist ideology, but not the Nationhood of the Jewish People.

¹¹ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

The non-Jewish anti-Zionist tendency, both Arab and Christian, denies the existence of Jewish Nationhood as Zionism denies Palestinian Nationhood. Defaulting to the position that presents the Palestinian struggle for liberation as if it were a reflection of the Zionist methodology, this tendency calls for an Arab Palestine as if it were to be an exclusive matter. To the extent that the Palestine Liberation Organization goes beyond Zionist methodology, it has proposed a democratic secular Palestine, albeit in the form of a State, offering universality (i.e. the purely theoretical cultural neutrality, as in Modernism) to the Israeli Jewish population, rather than the mutually exclusive Zionist proposition of an Apartheid-like system. However, the Palestine State proposal is subject to being rejected because it offers an Occidental framework that has already been demonstrated to be impossible in the face of the reaction towards Zionist State sovereignty. Furthermore, this concept conceals the submergence of dominated nationalities, and is extraneous to the format of an Arabic political-culture as well. This program is constructed as if the Palestinian mainstream anti-Zionist political consciousness has believed that the expulsion from Palestine was initially successful because of the Zionists' more advanced organizational frameworks and methodology; and furthermore, that in order to defeat Zionism it is necessary to duplicate its militarist Statist and stagist methodology. Unfortunately this formula is very much like the Zionist Jewish reaction to the Occidental countries. As could have been expected, the spontaneous popular Intifada uprising begun in 1987 on the twentieth commemoration of the 1967 military occupation surprised the Palestinian leadership as well as the Zionist State.

Self-emancipation then is not merely a matter of reversing the relationship of forces. The political revolution brought about by Zionism created a transfer of power entailing a land transfer and a double or triple population transfer (Ashkenazim, Palestinians, and Sephardim). A transfer of

power is of itself not liberatory if it remains sectarian. The perpetuation of a central power in a revolutionary transfer remains a reorganized phenomenon merely to benefit a different exclusive (national) group in society. It becomes necessary then to differentiate revolution from liberation. To begin with, the supremacy of the Occidental style Nation-State must be set aside in an epoch largely in the process of self-destruction by Fragmentation, in view of the fact that most are not reflections of a single nation, but contain multiple nationalities, with varying requirements for auto-determination. Some nations, such as the African-Americans, are national minorities/communities/nationalities within a single poly-national state entity, who may or may not require territorial separation to secure adequate auto-determination. Some, like the Kurdish people, live within the territorial confines of several contiguous States, and seek either recognition as minorities within those nation-states, or wish to form a single autonomous national-state entity of their own, Kurdistan. The problems of all such nations beg to be addressed through the wide range of instruments already enshrined in international law, or plausibly, laws yet to be created and accepted, as grievance-solving devices to further world peace and harmony.

Indeed, the experience of Oriental Jewish Arabic people of the Arab-Islamic cultures offers a precedent for mutually beneficial integration, as in the Abrahamic tradition. The idea of a Jewish nation survived although it arose from the ranks of liberated slaves and nomads who began to constitute a nation without a territory. Throughout history, there have been various means by which a solution has been attempted to this paradox. The general pattern has been interspersed amongst existing nations, either by force of arms as in the establishment of the original Israel, an option which did not endure, or generally through a nomadic migration into various societies. The success of the latter tendency has varied, while societies in the Middle-East and the

Maghreb had found an accommodation with that body of Jewish people, the European societies carried out purge after purge from one country to another until the Jewish population became imbedded in isolated ghettos where interaction was minimalised with the external nation, so fostering mutual alienation. At the time of Napoleon's entry in the Egyptian campaign, he made an offer to the Jewish population of the Arab countries to accept the land of Palestine on behalf of the Napoleonic empire.

Napoleon Bonaparte, the first European invader of the Middle East in modern times, was described by Weizmann as 'the first of the modern non-Jewish Zionists'.¹² In his April 20, 1799, appeal to all the Jews of Asia and Africa, Napoleon had urged them to follow the French command so that the 'pristine splendor' of Jerusalem might be restored. He promised to return the Jews to the 'Holy Land', if they would 'aid his forces'.¹³

The crucial point here is that the Oriental Jewish population refused to consider the matter and opposed Napoleon's army together with the other Arab inhabitants. It should also be mentioned that it was not Napoleon who was the first modern non-Jewish Zionist; it was during the Cromwell period of Puritan rule that such an offer was first made.¹⁴ Projections were made for "an Anglican Israel"¹⁵, presumably populated by converted 'Jews'. This theme, as it developed, came to be pursued by Herzl, "who expressed the hope that the Zionists would reach their 'goal with the aid of the rising Protestant

¹² Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, (Letter written, but never sent, by Weizmann to Churchill, cited in Crossman, *A Nation Reborn*, p. 130.)

¹³ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 85. (see also p. 99.)

¹⁴ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁵ Walid Khalidy, 'Reappraisal and examination of certain attitudes to the Palestine Problem', *Middle East Forum*, Summer, 1958, p. 22.

power'." ¹⁶₈

This Zionist program flowed with the Puritans' fundamentalism to the present day United States of America to become the 'IXth Crusade',. The Jewish Zionists are approvingly referred to as "the last Crusaders" in an *Esquire* article of 1975.¹⁷

The Zionist contention that anti-Jewish racism is inevitable and inherent amongst the non-Jewish population generally does not correspond with the Arabic experience of Sephardim. The ethnocentric analysis of Ashkenazi Zionism is merely the self-serving attempt to rationalize, reject and yet emulate Occidental political culture. With the introduction of the Occidental power into the Arab Nations and the Jewish community's Occidental linkages (including French citizenship) social conditions were exacerbated to the point that by 1962 there was a mass migration of the Jewish Arab communities to the Zionist State fostered by Zionist interventions₁₀. Coincidentally, the developing social revolution developed in response to the introduction of Occidental social dynamics in Jewish relations with the Arab population in general both in Morocco and Palestine. Finding themselves welcomed into the "Land of Israel/Eretz Israel" by the Zionist State, the Sephardim have discovered that far from being welcomed as fellow nationals, as was the image of the Zionist political-culture, Jewish Arabs were segregated as Orientals, much in the same manner as the Islamic Caliphate. Besides raising a contradiction in the Zionist ideology which claimed to represent the Jewish People as a whole, this alienation with the Ashkenazim exposed the Occidental

¹⁶ Patai, *Diaries*, Volume III, p. 1186, Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁷ Garry Wills, 'A New Way to Perceive the State of Israel', *Esquire*, July 1975, cited in Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

ground on which Zionism stood. This disunity is expressed in Abba Eban's *Voice of Israel*;

'far from regarding our immigrants from Oriental countries as a bridge toward our integration with the Arabic-speaking world, our objective should be to infuse them with Occidental spirit, rather than allow them to draw us into an unnatural orientalism'.¹⁸

Modern Occidentalism₁₁ has not only infused the Jewish people with Zionist ideology during this immediate post-Holocaust period, it has also manipulated Jewish people to its own interests in the post-bourgeois format of Marxism and Leninism. In particular, another response to Modernism was outright conversion, in the secular manner of Protestantism, in the fashion of the Marx family, which became a feature of Marxism, and included the denial of the existence of a Jewish People - seeking identity rather with a universal proletariat.

The feature of Marxism which formed an effective critique of universality in the liberal bourgeois mold, pointed to the contradictions of class formations in Occidental society which rendered universal human rights a sham. The proletariat was considered the universal class, as opposed to the bourgeois, in the sense that with the dissolution of all other classes and the assimilation of all members of society into a universal proletariat there would arise an egalitarian society in a broader sense than was conceived by bourgeois universality, which recognized the rights of citizens alone without collective rights. However, the class contradiction was not as fundamental as was thought and within each class there exist national differences and oppressions, named 'Orders'. Marxist universalism denied the need for the continued

¹⁸ Stewart, *Theodor Herzl*, p. 304, Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

existence of nations, regarding the world as the hinterland of Europe. In order to claim leadership of the revolutionary process, Leninism was obliged to recognize the right to auto-determination in existing national formations.

Pre-State Leninism initially adapted to the Jewish Bund by affirming the right to national self-determination while maintaining its insistence on the predominance of Jewish workers' identification with the class in general. After the Jewish Bund adopted its position in favour of national autonomy in 1901, the *Parti Ouvrier Social-Démocrate Russe* (P.O.S.D.R.), the Marxists, including Lenin's *Iskra*, proclaimed the right of non-Russian peoples to govern themselves in 1905, thus re-integrating the Bund into the Marxist movement, even though the Jewish Bund was excluded in 1903.¹⁹

The substitution of class for the nation, however, floundered due to its Idealist construction and the cultural realities of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics state, which limited itself to fabricating a certain number of subordinate republics to accommodate existing nationalities. 'The Jews' in their Pale of Settlement were nonetheless required to assimilate to the 'higher' notion of class solidarity, although an isolated territory, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast/Region of Birobijan/Birobidzhan/Birobidjan was later created to satisfy the political demand for autonomy, in 1928. Leninism continued to degenerate/elaborate into Stalinism, which regenerated anti-Semitism in order to preserve a bureaucratic caste formed from the exclusively oriented privileged nationalities in landed republics, and so consequently Zionism came to dominate Jewish national aspirations, for lack of an alternative in post-war Europe. In practice, the Bolsheviks betrayed the Jewish people by denying them a territorial homeland in the Pale of Settlement, by

¹⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-88.

treating 'Jewish' national identity as regressive, and by denying the existence of a Jewish People, labelling the very idea petit-bourgeois. The Jewish Bund itself was absorbed into the Communist Party of Russia. The homogeneous concept of universality had again failed the Jewish People, despite Jewish affinities with the Leninist experiment.

A parallel can be elaborated for the Jewish and Palestinian Peoples. Both are alienated by their national oppression, both seek auto-determination, and both have been conditioned by the prevailing Occidental power to one degree or another. Accordingly, self-determination was adopted as an absolute principle by the Palestinian movement in opposition to the Zionist claim to absolute self-determination, in order to defeat the greater power by a greater claim to legitimacy over the land. As in the Zionist ideology, the case for self-determination is presented in an absolute manner in order to maintain the demonstration of will considered necessary to win the final objective of the homeland. This ideology of nationalism is a motivating force in opposition to the inculcated ideology of the occupier. This is not unlike the reaction of the Zionist movement to European racism which adopts the methodology of oppressors, assuming it was their such deficiencies which had led to their defeat. And so the Palestinian liberation movement, including intellectuals who seek to further Palestinian liberation, have come to regard the entire conflict from the localized environment. The criticism the Zionist movement in isolation without evaluating the milieu from which it derives, that is the Jewish People in the Occident, leaves the Palestinian People defenceless in political terms, in particular in reference to the Nazi Holocaust.

From an Inter-Nationals perspective, there is a necessary differentiation to be made between Zionism and the Jewish People, and between the Israelis and the Jewish people. To consider the Jewish People as a Nation, with a

history of oppression and a consequential need to seek out auto-determination, seemingly appears to contradict the well-founded opposition to Zionism. It would seem to be a capitulationist position if the Zionist definition of Nation is legitimized. If a resolution of each situation is to be achieved, then it is necessary to leave behind the methodology of nationalism which, having given rise to Zionism, rests at the centre of the impasse. Recognizing the legitimacy of each People's right to auto-determination is only possible if the Occidental notion of the uni-national nation-state is abandoned. In addition, the framework of the discussion should be extended from the localized conflict to a world perspective. It then becomes possible to conceive of auto-determination as a relative right, and not an absolute one, leading to the mutual accommodation of the Palestinian and the Hebraic culture within the territorial entity called Palestine by the former, and Israel by the latter.

It is along these lines that Nabil Shaath, Director of the Planning Centre of the P.L.O. (Palestine Liberation Organization) in Beirut, Lebanon at the time and currently foreign minister of the Palestine Authority (PA), defines the PLO's fundamental orientation to pluralism.¹²

the exercise by the people of Palestine of their right of self-determination in Palestine does not include the right to exclude the palestinian Jews from Palestine, that signifies also that this right does not include the right to create in Palestine a State solely arab.²⁰

. In such a parallel non-exclusive and reciprocal manner, a breakthrough is achieved. Similarly, the same method applied in the context, of a world perspective makes it is possible to conceive of an Inter-Nationals perspective,

²⁰ Nabil Shaath, 'L'autodetermination et l'état démocratique de Palestine', pp. 211-218, *Palestine : Actes du colloque Palestine*, Bruxelles, Belgique, 13-15 mai 1976, Douclot - S.N.E.D., p. 213.

reciprocal and so, non-exclusionary.¹³

Reciprocity as a concept should be the context for Inter-Nationals relations between the Orient and the Occident in all spheres of life; economic, political and cultural.

4.2 Historical Context

The central historic claim made by the Zionist movement since its inception until this very day is that the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine would provide the only solution to the 'Jewish Question'. Moreover, the left-wing of the Zionist movement claimed that the implementation of the Zionist enterprise could lead to the social emancipation of the Jewish workers and farmers, both those in existence and those who would emerge through the creation of the State.

Largely on the basis of these claims, the Zionist movement came to command the allegiance and active support of millions of well-meaning humanitarians, liberals and social democrats, both Jewish and non-Jewish, throughout the world. The Zionist enterprise has also gained the active support of many powerful institutions, governments, and states which command the concrete power to insure the establishment of the State of Israel. In fact, without this support, the Zionist enterprise would have remained no more than a utopian fantasy.

It is evident that not only has the Zionist movement failed to advance the social goals it claims as its objectives, but its practical effect has been to thwart them, while engendering anti-Jewish racism thus serving to further

undermine the instability of Jewish life. Abdelwahab Elmessiri points out explicitly,

This assumption of the naturalness of anti-Semitism implies that it is a logical response to Jewish existence in the diaspora – one that actually makes the diaspora Jew partly or wholly responsible for anti-Semitic attacks on him. [...]

The radical Zionist [Klatzkin] declared that he could understand perfectly well the legitimacy and 'rightfulness' of anti-Semitism as 'essentially [...] a defense of the integrity of a nation in whose throat' the Jews, another nation, are 'stuck'. Klatzkin then asserted the organic link between the two movements: 'If we do not admit the rightfulness of anti-Semitism, we deny the rightfulness of our own nationalism' (69)₁₄ [...] He [Herzl] also conceded that the Jewish state meant a victory for the anti-Semites, but this did not seem to bother him: 'They will have turned out to be right because they are right' (71)₁₅²¹

Rather than providing a haven for Jewish people in Palestine, the Zionist movement has created an historic trap for the Jewish People. The Israeli State faces the prospect of continued war with peoples increasingly unified and organized, who have mounting support throughout the world, in particular the Third World. The psychological conditions are present for a tragedy and in any case a tragedy is unfolding, slowly. The efforts to forestall such an eventuality have not been present to a degree that contest the prevailing dynamics directed to that conflict. The task is to develop such a consciousness with a movement to cope with the circumstances in motion. This then is one motivation for this work; while the underlying purpose remains one of formulating a critique of the political culture giving rise to the Occidental Holocaust in modern XXth Century Europe.

²¹ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

4.2.1 Occidental Perspectives on Peoplehood

The Jewish people of France did not achieve their individual equal civil rights until the Napoleonic reforms indicating the lack of comprehensiveness in the principles of the revolution. In 1807 the Parisian Synhedrion (Sanhedrin) was proclaimed even while Napoleon considered that “ ‘Jewry to-day does not constitute a nation’ ”.²² The Modernist view of personal identity is contained in the Hans Kohn reference that,

Kant visualized mankind, a universal society of free individuals, as the goal of all human development. Man should always act on the principle of absolute reciprocity, principles applicable to every man, not to any particular nation, class, or caste.²³

Thus, in opposition to the minority's national identity, the opportunity for assimilation is upheld, more so to maintain the image of homogeneity than to remove the segregation of the nationalities within society.

Kant's use of this concept could be elaborated further to consider its applicability to collectivities, by extrapolation. While his notion of individualism is suspect, the methodology or rationale applied remains applicable.

Simon Dubnow though places individualism in its social context, rejecting assimilation and ‘national egotism’;

²² Dubnow, op. cit., *History*, Vol. III p. 53.

²³ Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism : A Study in its Origins and Background*, Toronto, Collier Books, (c 1944) 1969, p. 396.

The national principle stands between the individual and the social principle. It is not the abstract man, but man as a member of a definite nationality, that is the actual member of the social organism. The individual finds expression in the state and in society with all his individual characteristics, and to these belong also his national characteristics. Every human group appears to the rest of the world in its own national physiognomy, which is connected with the inner structure of its life, and only as an individual collectivity does it become a cultural and social force.²⁴₁₆

In terms of a collective individual this is reminiscent of the 'particular interests' of Rousseau. In general this methodology presents its difficulties to liberal jurisprudence and constitutional law. While the abstract legal designation of 'propagation of hatred against a definable group' has been defined into law (in Canada), there has been no practical application as the 'definable group' has not been defined. Collective rights have also been undefined since any such definition of a collective national formation would be in conflict with the self-designation of the State as Nation, which reveals how the proposed constitutional reforms in respect to Québec proposed in Canada have been nullified.

4.2.2 Proliferation of National Identity

The Fragmentation in progress everywhere in the existing State formations is an historic dynamic of the differentiation taking place in the homogeneous social structure acting in opposition to the stasis of international relations (the balance of power). Witness the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. under the strain of various struggles for national independence. This

²⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 97

Fragmentation is a dynamic in operation alongside the efforts to engineer economic units of increasingly greater dimensions, in deference to the economic law of competition.

This global process of Fragmentation is a consequence of the differentiation between equality (in both the individual and collective sense) and homogeneity. As the human inhabitants of this planet have sought to become competent in the construction of their permanent living environment, autonomous social entities sought the means for their own survival alone, without the benefit of any other entity, under the assumption that isolation is a superiority. A further aspect in these efforts for achieving security (or self-sufficiency) is the social differentiation in the social entity with respect to the method of realizing this autonomous existence. As each social unit becomes assured of its capacity to maintain its own autonomy - or above all reject the dependence put into place by another force - it may nonetheless seek an opportunity to utilize the same method of dependence/dominance, so excluding another people from its social structure, while using their presence to guarantee its own survival. It is then and there, at that moment, that a fracture breaks open, with or without the nature of the social unit's own survival resolved. The question poses itself; by which method is an autonomous entity to achieve its self-sufficiency, if not by the futility of replicating that which is known to result in instability, what will annul the inevitability of further fractures? With the conditions presently in place for perpetual war, in conjunction with the prevailing consciousness of the exclusive nation, there is an obligation to practice a continuous and permanent transformation to arrest the tendency of the aggrandizement of the one opposing the other.

How the social entities can exercise their autonomy without recreating the same project that has given them the motivation to leave a given system of homogeneity, is integral to the exercise of this work and corresponds to the problem initially presented here. Without an theory for change, the least contested and most credible tendency at any given moment is to replicate the same method from which one wishes to separate (before it is recognized as such). Consequently, one does not escape hegemony but merely replicates and replaces one elite with another - one that gives the appearance of the searched for identity. A resulting revolution within a revolution maintains the process without being frozen by the inherent tendency that would stop at the frontier of consciousness, that boundary of a single social identity transforming but without considering the consciousness of others. Without a method to reciprocally exchange the means of existence, there cannot be peace and, inevitably no society in the event of a civil war - this being a situation where contending parties seek to establish an exclusive State apparatus over the other, whether minoritarian or majoritarian.

The stasis of continuing 'Fragmentation' in world relations is to be avoided by social upheaval ('aufheben'). An examination of world 'Fragmentation' and the concurrent tendency towards 'Inter-Nationalization', function as dual tendencies feeding a dynamic equilibrium fuelled by the world migration of peoples over the past 200-60,000 years. All combined create a permanent social transformation. However this does not necessarily denote a continuous nor inevitable progression of world Society, judging by the extent of the sacrifice endured by many peoples of the world during this past century. Ranging from the projected elimination of 11 million European Jewry (proceeding to 50 per cent elimination), the eradication of 20, or more, millions of Slavic peoples and the use of nuclear detonations over civilian populations, the probability for mutual destruction is evident. Nonetheless

there are the historical dynamics of uneven and combined development that surpass the expectations of any one given situation, combining to give the impetus to the further transformation of existence seeking its preservation on a permanent basis, if at all possible.

In general, the reciprocal principle is evident in many other discussions such as presented by F. Debuyst and Charney who suggest that, "La réciprocité [...] impose par conséquent une vision synchronique du rapport de forces et non seulement l'estimation diachronique de leurs actions respectives (5)".²⁵ The reciprocity inherent in Liberty is found in the French Revolution's *Declaration of the Rights of Man of the Citizen* that reads;

Art. 6 "Liberty is the power belonging to each man to do anything which does not impair the rights of others", or according to the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1791: "Liberty is the power to do anything which does not harm others."²⁶

On the other hand, the USA's constitution contains a concept of liberty amounting to individual license, expected to be limited by the moral religious persuasion of the individual's conscience. If not, then the State authority intervenes as a surrogate deity.

²⁵ Hentsch et Potte, << Structuration et dynamique de << rapports sociaux >> à l'échelle mondiale: le domaine des stratégies >>, pp. 234-258, *Le Systeme Mondial : Rapports internationaux et relations internationales*, Montréal, Matriaux/Nouvelle Optique, 1983, p. 235.

²⁶ Loyd D. Easton & Kurt H. Guddat (eds.), *Writings of the young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, Garden City, New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967, p. 235.

4.2.3 Differentiation of National Identity and Nationalism

The Homogeneous conception of identity contributes to an absolute method that poses matters of general interest in a particularized and exclusive manner. By the establishment of such an hierarchy of national priorities, the criteria for its rationalization are particularly limited to its predetermined end; an identity patterned after the image of the ruling elite.

The superiority proposed by this method of a particular sole perspective assumes the right, as a fundamental principle, to impose this identity upon the external domain. As for the purposes of the interior domain, it also imposes a homogeneous society, an anti-pluralist law in a monolithic State.

A theoretician of nationalism, Hans Kohn, concluded that,

Nationality is therefore nothing absolute, and it is a great mistake, responsible for most of the extremities of today, to make it an absolute, an objective 'a priori', the source of all political and cultural life.²⁷

In general, each of the phenomenon of multifaceted national consciousness exists with the contradictory 'exclusive' and 'inclusive' tendencies intertwined. Such an endemic schizophrenic consciousness develops crises and breakdowns that have defeated many social movements in their national aspirations. If one is to unravel this knot it is necessary to make a distinction among all these tendencies associated with national movements. As Jayant Lele wrote,

²⁷ Hans Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

every nationalist movement should be examined, simultaneously, as dominant ideology and its liberating antithesis. [...] By recognizing the two faces of nationalism it is possible to come to grips with some of the universal impulses behind nationalist movements.²⁸

With such a dualistic analysis, we can read Hans Kohn's conclusion that,

Two main concepts of nation and fatherland emerged in the intertwining of influences and conditions, conflicting and fusing, they become embodied in currents of thought in all nations and, to a varying degree, in entire nations.²⁹

Thus it would seem to be necessary to take both such tendencies into consideration when looking at the nationalist consciousness of a People at whatever age of development and not reduce the matter to an ideological imperative.

One manner of differentiating between these tendencies is Frantz Fanon's distinction between national consciousness (associated with a People) and nationalism (associated with the State, i.e., patriotism);

²⁸ Jayant Lele, 'The Two Faces of Nationalism : On the Revolutionary Potential of Tradition', pp. 201-216, *National and Ethnic Movements*, Jacques Dofny & Akinsola Akiwowo (eds.), Studies in International Sociology 19, Beverly Hills, 1980, pp. 201, 213.

²⁹ Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for other [...] National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension [...] For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity [...] we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new human.³⁰

The research of Andrew Kawczak³¹ refers to Simon Dubnov's distinction of defensive and offensive nationalism, which are presented in their positive and negative lights respectively. Kawczak proceeds to question the dichotomy made between the two forms of nationalism.

However, Dubnov's distinctions suffer from two drawbacks. On the one hand, when applied to a small nation, exposed to oppression by a more powerful neighbour, they do not allow to discern the legitimate resistance from carrying it to the point where it becomes a one-sided, biased and fanatical defense that manipulates the truth and permits the use of destructive, evidently immoral methods, such as individual terror, spread of collective hatred and ruthlessness, making exaggerated and false accusations, cultivation of ethnocentrism and national egoism. On the other hand, Dubnov's distinctions, when applied to big and powerful nations, do not leave room for the legitimate concerns with the preservation and development of the most valuable components of their national heritage.

As has been mentioned, the inclusive and exclusive tendencies are intertwined within the body that carries both nationalism and national consciousness, based on national identity. It is not possible to divide these tendencies from each another in any absolute fashion, as in the initial dichotomy presented by Kohn

³⁰ Frantz Fanon, 'Introduction', *Soweto and American Black Thought*, Lou Turner & John Alan, p. 49.

³¹ Andrew Kawczak, 'Nationalism, Mental Health and Human Development', pp. 231-253, *The Polish Society for Mental Health*, Brunon Holyst (ed.), Warsaw, 1990.

of the tribal organic versus the cosmopolitan nation as representative of exclusivity and inclusivity.

Neither is it feasible to distinguish between bourgeois and proletarian expressions of nationalism, as if one class were holier than the other, judging from the acquiescence of the German working class with the Nazi nationalist regime. Ber Borochov (the theorist of proletarian Zionism) nonetheless had presented a theory of organic unity between socialism and proletarian nationalism³² as a bridge to Zionism, so as to rationalize the socialist movements' acquiescence to the development of the Zionist State.

While it is appropriate to distinguish between national defence and national aggression, the subjective evaluation of such distinctions serve to obscure their role, as well as the obfuscation by the various tendencies which mingle in the midst of the national struggle for opportunistic reasons. Consequently, such a formalist differentiation must be regarded as inadequate methodology in itself and further inquiries should be made to cope with the legitimate and necessary concerns of national liberation.

An interesting distinction is made by Carlton Hayes between nationalism as a process (which he leaves aside) and nationalism as a belief. It would be interesting to pursue this line of thought by raising a parallel to national-identity as process while nationalism as an ideology remains a belief.

The tendency to exclusivity exists then in all forms of national expression and may become dominant despite an inherent national oppression,

³² Ber Borochov, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle : A Marxian Approach to The Jewish Problem*, Introduction by Abraham G. Duker, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1973, pp. 43, 144.

such as the predominance of Zionist ideology amongst the Jewish People. The criteria which gives rise to the development of an exclusive expression of nationalism is not found in the matter of oppression, it should better be sought in the methodology of its expression, as well as in its orientation to the State.

4.2.4 Nationalism and Ideology

A Society lacking productive means, in terms of resources or technique, may fall into the practice of taking the strengths of others as a substitute for that which is lacking in their society and in place of the research necessary to discover such means themselves. All that which is necessary to institute this slavery is the belief that the particular needs have a greater priority than the needs of other nations, which is to say, the belief that the needs of other nations are inferior.

Various National identities express this exclusive hierarchy, as noted, "Hellenes do not like to call themselves slaves, but confine this term to barbarians".³³ With this very belief, power is centralized by the State to accomplish the subordination of another People in pursuit of sustainability.

The nature of class stratification and the national self-image is thus crucial to this analysis. The various theorists touched upon here have discussed the interrelated dynamics of Nation and Class, indicating that an exploration here would reveal a further refinement of the transformations involved in national movements, in terms of dynamic parallel processes.

³³ K.R. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962, p. 2.

The 'ideology of nationalism' is said to use the image of the national culture to assert its authority over those classes who do not have access to their own cultural fulfilment. Culture is monopolized by the bourgeoisie or any ruling caste as a private resource to define the nation in its own image. In this manner one can agree with Bourque that, "L'idéologie nationaliste qui pose l'existence de la nation ne saurait être qu'une idéologie bourgeoise ou petite-bourgeoise"³⁴ [...] However, such a conclusion has led many theorists such as Bourque, Rodinson and Memmi to accept the bourgeois definition of Nation, as if it were that exclusive prerogative. Bourque as many Marxists tend to do, comes to conclude that "il n'y a pas de nation [...] " [et que], "il n'existe qu'une question nationale [...] ".³⁵

While strictly Marxist in ideology such a conclusion has its problems coping with some of Marx's writings, such as the Manifesto itself which differentiates between a bourgeois and proletarian sense of the nation;

Comme le prolétariat de chaque pays doit d'abord conquérir le pouvoir politique, s'ériger en classe dirigeante de la nation, devenir lui-même la nation, il est encore par là national; mais ce n'est pas au sens bourgeois du mot.³⁶

Consequently, it may be concluded that the ideological definition of 'nationalist ideology' is a doubtful concept and should lead us to consider other perspectives on national identity.

Further enquiries make it even more difficult to provide a precise

³⁴ Bourque, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

³⁵ Bourque, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

³⁶ Bourque, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

analysis of the various rationales underlying the Nation-State. As the Visigoth-Spanish Inquisitor-general Torquemada stated, quite simply "One Church, One State".³⁷ At the Sixth Council of Toledo in 638 C.E. the Visigoth priests declared that "only Catholics can live in Spain".³⁸ However, this theocratic definition of the Nation-State did not survive the attempted assimilation of the Jewish converts to Catholicism.

[...] the policy of assimilation-by-conversion not only failed to solve old problems, it actually created new ones. An entirely new social class came into being, and the conversos profoundly confused fifteenth-century Spaniards. Social identity was traditionally defined by religion only. Who then 'were' these so-called New Christians? They and their parents had been baptized, but were they 'Christians'?

This was the crucial question, and the answer that emerged over the course of the fifteenth century was a resounding no. When it was recognized that conversion had failed to create a homogeneous, religiously pure society, and that fifty years of attempted assimilation had barely altered the cultural and economic patterns of Jewish life that had incited resentment, new criteria of exclusion were invented to set apart authentic Christians. The push to dissolve one cultural group forcibly into another had apparently crashed in massive failure. The new solution was racism. Now conversos were the excluded Other. Conversos were [...] Jews.

The eighteenth-century French writer Montesquieu correctly observed that the Spanish Inquisition merely reinvented the anti-Jewish legislative code of the Visigoths: in both societies religious conformity was a condition of membership in the polity, exclusion a reason of state, and minority outsiders the enemy of God and king. Without imposing too tidy a pattern on the past, the shift from intolerance under the Visigoths to pluralism under the Moors, then back to intolerance transparently prefigures more recent political

³⁷ Erna Paris, *The End of Days : A Story of Tolerance, Tyranny, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Toronto, Lester Publishing, 1995, p. 238.

³⁸ Erna Paris, *ibid.*, p. 245.

transformations: The absolutist, centralized government of religious-nation unity set in place by Ferdinand and Isabella through their various reforms stands out squarely as a precursor of the modern authoritarian state in which the idea of nationhood is built upon a defining orthodoxy and totalitarianism is characterized by the pursuit and exercise of raw power.³⁹

Despite the religious belief of the converted, nationality transcended religious criteria. Although segments of the Jewish community converted to Catholicism, their cultural heritage rather than their religious practice became the mark of a heretic. The ideology of State theology defeated itself, reduced to its fundamental drive of not only hierarchy but exclusion, based in any factor which could aid the State to maintain its hegemony. That criterion became a chauvinist definition of nationality, and not religion per se. The purpose of that criterion was the imposition of the Visigoth nationality over the entirety of Spanish society and territory, replacing the developing pluralist Spanish society. An investigation of the Inquisition reveals its origins in the northwest Spanish regions that remained in the control of the Visigoth nationality after the occupation by the Moorish empire.

Kawczak puts it this way,

Extreme nationalism breeds antagonistic attitudes which foster hostility towards other nations on the assumption that there exists a fundamental, irreconcilable conflict between the interests of nations.⁴⁰

Various National identities express this exclusive hierarchy as in ancient

³⁹ Erna Paris, *ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴⁰ Andrew Kawczak, 'Nationalism, Mental Health and Human Development', pp. 231-253, *Mental Health in a Changing World*, Brunon Holyst (ed.), Warsaw, 1990, p. 236.

Greece.

The nature of class alignments and the national self-image are thus crucial to the analysis. Various theorists discussed here have explored the interrelated dynamics of nation and class revealing a further refinement of the related transformations involved in national struggles.

The limitations of Albert Memmi's ideological approach to nationalism reflect the criticism's made from Maxime Rodinson's perspective, although both are constrained by their ideological affinity for nationalism. By their methodology, such analyses lead to or adopt a bourgeois state framework by default.

4.2.5 The Nation As A People

In considering the various discussions of the Nation it may be discovered that the lack of coherency on the subject results from various treatments of the same concept, seeking to be reconciled with the ideological predisposition of the writer.

Nous avons constaté qu'à travers l'histoire de l'étude de la question nationale, chez les marxists comme chez les non-marxists, s'étaient peu à peu distinguées la question de l'État et celle de la nation comme groupe spécifique.⁴¹

Such a distinction is made generally in one instance here (Gellner), treating the Nation as a bourgeois creation identified with the State, tending to annul the

⁴¹ Bourque, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Nation as a People:

The theorist Hans Kohn however refers sympathetically to Ernest Barker's work, *Oliver Cromwell and the English People* to say, " [...] It is a nationalism which runs easily and naturally into internationalism. [...] The chosen people of one nation, and the whole of that nation through them, have a community and a fellowship with the chosen peoples of other nations, and with other nations through them".⁴²₁₈

4.3 A Critique of National Relations

Gellner's standard interpretation of the emergence of the nation identifies the European concept of the 'Nation-State' as the exclusive repository of a Nation and its nationalism, while James G. Kellas⁴³ identifies three types of nationalism:

- (1) ethnic nationalism,
- (2) social nationalism, and
- (3) official state nationalism,

thus recognizing the civil society as an entity apart from the State.

Another manner of distinguishing forms of nationalism is provided by

⁴² Hans Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁴³ James G. Kellas, 'The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity', pp. 236-238, reviewed by Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, *Ethnic Identity, National Identity: The Future of the Nation-State*, The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Volume 16, Number 2, Summer 1992, s.l., The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, p. 237.

Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and his neo-nationalism.⁴⁴ While such categories of nationalism serve to illustrate the differentiations that appear necessary, these variants of nationalist theory remain abstractions. Without the realization of the ideological underpinnings of nationalism as an ideology generated by the State itself (or the political parties that seek to establish or take over a State) there remains a confusion as to the actual subject under consideration. Fundamentally, there exist national identities in addition to States which seek to represent nations. Failing to differentiate between the two merely results in a confused plethora of forces that are incapable of resolving their contradictions; typically, the perspective that national identities may express themselves as a State to resolve a particular social crisis, when it represents a threat to the international stability of existing States.

Gerard Powers, on behalf of the Vatican, polemicizes against the "normative national principal [arguing that] a competent people is one capable of establishing itself as a legitimate state [...] [because] Secession is a remedy, not a right".⁴⁵ In contrast the right to auto-determination is defended in the context of international law by Yussuf Kly's presentation based in a consociated democracy involving a "nonterritorial self-determination".⁴⁶

Because of the dynamics of auto-determination, a process of 'Fragmentation' and collective consciousness, exist as features of the historical developments we are currently facing. Such a perspective allows for the conscious application of conflict resolution in the sense of achieving a common

⁴⁴ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London, revised edition 1992.

⁴⁵ Gerard F. Powers, *ibid.*, 'Testing The Moral Limits of Self-Determination : Northern Ireland and Croatia', pp. 28-49, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, pp. 42,44.

⁴⁶ Kly, *Hamline Law Review*, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

political programme and constitutional arrangement. Letting social factors find their balance at the end of a military engagement, or merely treating the differing interests to behavioural modifications, do not provide a solution to the continuing dynamic of fragmentation.

The Inter-Nationals concept must then follow as a feature, since this development is the consequence of the preceding historical dynamic of Fragmentation with the formation of collective consciousness. This dynamic and its root tendencies then merge into a theory of history. The development of an epistemological culture provides the means for the implementation of 'Inter-nationalization', when the bases of Nation and Society are historically evident in the peaceful resolution of prior contradictions.

The study of political culture is often considered an amorphous area not treatable under a regime of rigorous scientific practice, as considered by Scientism and its linear-causal methodology. The possibility of arriving at conclusions in political culture rests on the one hand in the critique that Scientism itself is suspect as a method of analysis, and on the other hand in the realization that it is 'necessary' to achieve some resolution of the conflicts and diversity of national cultures. This resolution need not be a set of seemingly valid repeatable causal patterns. That would be the Formalist point criteria of the Scientist paradigm. In considering that the implementation of an historic series of cause-effect relations have left matters of national identity unresolved, it is not even desirable to repeat any clausal pattern, except to critique it. The shallow venture of the 'scientific method' is more suited to replicating the Hegelian world of the real as the only rational, than it is in escaping that pedantic role of ameliorating the replication of human conflict. Explorations in political theory should not be limited to causal commentary in default of theory's potential to actually resolve those limitations that have preceded our

epoch.

To postulate a hypothesis does not mean to provide an accurate description of the current process of social organization, but rather to project an idea, a concept that is generated out of the current state of affairs. The generation of such a conception itself is merely a reflection of the necessary and prior conditions. To be able to succeed in such an exploration, a necessary precondition is to establish a theoretical space from which to proceed without being obstructed by the criteria that have accumulated around the formal notions that have become encrusted to 'the national Question'.

4.4 Concluding remarks on Nation and Identity

The dynamics of the poly-national Society and the Inter-Nationalization of Nations occurring simultaneously, offer the methodological bases for the successful resolution to co-existence for nations in conflict. Without being in contradiction to the perpetuation of the preceding generations of indigenous national culture, societies become diversified by immigrant nationalities without losing their national character, as various minorities choose to affiliate with one society or another. The right to independence in an Intra-National setting becomes a matter of mutuality, whereby one People cannot be denied that which has been achieved by another People, even though the predominant nationality may wish to claim that right as an exclusive prerogative. In particular, there is no basis in principle for the Israeli State to deny the Palestinians their auto-determination, irrespective of the 'National principle' of State sovereignty. Likewise, there cannot be a principle to deny the existence of a Jewish People living within various Nations of the Occident, or in Arab countries. By becoming a recognized national identity, the Jewish People of the world would be less dependent upon the State of Israel, so

furthering the liberation of the Palestinians. This process is further impelled to seek such a resolution by the impetus of the autonomously occurring Palestinian liberation movement - the Intifada.

Fragmentation arises through a process of differentiation, as an alternative to any given state of being which prevents a solution of the reciprocal exchange of the means of existence and life for the mutual benefit of society at large. The tendencies leading to fragmentation are primary factors in the elaboration of a theory of permanent revolution, not a mere transfer of state power, but social transformation.

With the conditions preset for perpetual warring, with the competitive ethic of the self placed above all, we are obliged to implement a process of emancipation, perpetual and permanent, in order to negate the tendency for the enrichment of the one, in opposition to the other. Nonetheless, there is a current opinion that counterpoises the national aspect to the Inter-Nationals, placing the former in the dominant role, tending to an exclusive perspective as a result. Gramsci's denunciation of permanent revolution as a modern form of "Napoleonism"⁴⁷ in favour of hegemonic nationalism falls into this tendency of exclusivity. In contrast to Gramsci, the comments of Marx and Engels in the Address of March 1850 to the Communist League promotes the German revolution through the path of a French proletarian victory.⁴⁸ Without a doubt the relation between the national and Inter-Nationals dynamics can be elaborated still further to include an analysis of the specific points presented by Lev Davidovitch Bronstein, a.k.a. Leon Trotsky, which augment the theory of Permanent Revolution.¹⁹

⁴⁷ Forgacs (ed.), *An Antonio Gramsci Reader : selected writings, 1916 - 1935*, New York, Schocken Books, 1988, pp. 232, 230-232.

⁴⁸ Forgacs (ed.), *An Antonio Gramsci Reader, op. cit.*, 'VII The Art and Science of Politics', notes 6, 10, pp. 411-412.

IV-39, 429

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NOTES

CHAPTER IV

OCCIDENTAL AND ORIENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON NATIONHOOD

1. "104, Patai, Diaries, Vol.III, p. 899."
2. The locality of Medina brings to mind the Midian people who were the origin for Zipporah, the second wife of Moses, as well as the Judaic affinity for the theology of Reuel , her father.
3. The recent law in France banning culturaly visible attributes (Hijab) of national minorities in public institutions is a striking example. Notably, only small Christian crosses are exempted. A similar Charter of Québécois values proposed by the Parti Québécois government was defeated following the electoral campaign of2014.
4. Notably: the Moorish and Arab Islamic culture, in general, has provided a relatively fertile and hospitable site for Jewish existence and development.

5. Take note of Leo Pinsker's (1821-1891) *Auto-Emancipation*, published in 1882 which, while declaring no affinity for Palestine, nonetheless was adopted by the Zionist movement as it hoped to become the all-embracing national movement of liberation.
6. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, Volume I, p. 63.
7. The Napoleonic Code was the first opportunity for the Jewish population of France to achieve the rights of an equal citizen. While the French revolution proclaimed 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité', a more appropriate reference would have been, 'Liberté, Égalité, Réciprocité', since the term 'fraternité' refers to the male gender and to those of a particular fraternal familial relation.
8. It is thus none too surprising to refer to Herzl's original conception of mass Jewish conversion to Catholicism in a bid to gain social acceptability.
9. It may be said that the VIIIth/XVth Crusade was the Nazi Holocaust/Cherbun/Shoah.
10. See Naeim Giladi's, *Ben Gurion's Scandals : How the Hagannah & the Mossad Eliminated Jews*.
11. The hypothesis of Harrington's Clash of Civilizations, makes reference to the dynamics described here, but fails to recognize the role played by Jewish people who are inserted into the interface of the two cultural orientations, while having affinities with both the Orient and Occident. The Occidental client-state of Israel is positioned in the interface of this pre-meditated 'Clash' and as such has a strategic significance beyond the magnitude of the regional conflict and the size of the Jewish People. The Huntington perspective lacks the recognition of a Jewish Nation and so overlooks the pluralism of international relations so reducing the actuality into a schema/paradigm of a clash of only two world civilizations. The Jewish

culture is reduced to the Judeo-Christian concept, so discarding the Jewish People.

12. See Chapter V, 3.2 Constitutional Proposals.
13. Such an Inter-Nationals concept is rooted in its derivative Latin meaning of 'Inter' (mutual agreement between nations).
14. 69. Agus, *The Meaning of Jewish History*, Vol. II, p. 425.
15. 71. Patai, *Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 18, Emphasis in the original
16. Reference is made on Dubnow's *Nationalism and History*, p. 367 to a lengthy quotation in the Russian original to Wilhelm Winderband's *Präludien*.
17. 51. Jean-Paul Charnay, *Essai général de stratégie*, Paris, Éditions Champ libre, 1973.
18. Ernest Barker, *Oliver Cromwell and the English People*, Cambridge University Press, 1937, p. 82.
19. See 'WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION ? : BASIC POSTULATES', Appendix A.

CHAPTER V

JEWISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ZIONIST IDEOLOGY

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5.1 The Israel-Palestinian Conflict

The resolution of the nationalist-religious war waged by the State of Israel ('Medinat Yisrael') upon the Palestinian Nation is a matter to be resolved between the Israeli Jewish popular consciousness and the Palestinian Arab political culture. The related recognition of each of the Palestinian and Jewish quests for independence by the other are not to be forgotten in the depths of the intricacies of national identity.

The dynamism of the Zionist movement is not to be found in the machinations of a few ideologues or a corresponding conspiracy of hidden sources of power. It is fundamentally a matter of the failure of the Occidental states to recognize the presence of the Jewish nationality, since these States are impregnated with the Occidental homogeneity Zeitgeist of the enlightenment.¹ This consciousness is not only a phenomenon of the Occidental political-cultures, it is pertinent to the analysis of the political-psychology of the Jewish people. The disillusionment with Universality in Jewish political culture led to the reaction of creating its parallel formation for the Jewish people, together with its antithesis of anti-Zionism. The replication of Universalism is due mainly to the lack of a completed alternative political option. The only

available credible alternative, the Communist Party, dissolved national identity into the class universality of the proletarian revolution providing a 'cul-de-sac' adorned as utopia.

Witness the national-identity crisis, of the founder of psychoanalysis;

In 1926, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, Sigmund Freud wrote a letter to the B'Nai B'rith Lodge of Vienna in which he attempted to sort out the psychological complexities of assimilation and ethnicity;

"I am a Jew myself, and it has always appeared to me not only undignified, but outright foolish to deny it. What tied me to Jewry was - I have to admit it - not faith, not even national pride, for I was always an unbeliever, having been brought up without religion, but not without respect for the so-called 'ethical' demands of human civilization. Whenever I have experienced feelings of national exaltation, I have tried to suppress them as disastrous and unfair, frightened by the warning example of those nations among which we Jews live. But there remained enough to make the attraction of Judaism and the Jews irresistible, many dark emotional powers, all the stronger the less they could be expressed in words, as well as the clear consciousness of an inner identity, the familiarity of the same psychological structure, and before long there followed the realization that it was only to my Jewish nature that I owed the two qualities that have become indispensable to me throughout my difficult life. Because I was a Jew, I found myself free of many of the prejudices that restrict others in the use of the intellect: As a Jew I was prepared to be in the opposition and to renounce agreement with the 'compact majority' ".¹₂

¹ Erna Paris, *The End of Days : A Story of Tolerance, Tyranny, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, Toronto, Lester Publishing, 1995, p. 275.

The nations to whom he refers among whom the Jewish people lived in Europe were nurtured on a dangerous brew of Christian theology and Statism.

The conceptual impasse presented by the claim to 'self-determination' and the unresolved nature of national existence of the Jewish People, is manifested by the conflict between that segment of the Jewish people who have sought to establish an Israeli-Hebrew State and the indigenous inhabitants seeking their independence based upon that same claim to self-determination. The State of Israel has imposed its authority on the Palestinian Arabic national culture, which has maintained its presence in the territory since before the migration of the ancient Jewish/Israel Nation into the Land of Canaan from Egypt and even before, in the Hebrews' migration associated with Abraham/Abram/Ibrahim from his origins in Ur (Uru or Harran²), presently situated in south-eastern Iraq (Samaria)₃.

The nature of the project undertaken by the Zionist campaign for self-determination resembles the construction of an empire as a country-state. This project has its consequences, both in the differing modern examples of the current State of Israel, and the Dominion of Canada ('settler-colonial states') or for that matter northern Ireland, where the subjugated nation is maintained as a reserve economic Order of workers (Palestinian, Kébékois and Irish

² Harold Bloom, 'Commentary', *The Book of J*, by David Rosenberg & Harold Bloom, New York, Grove Weidenfeld, 1990, p. 194.

respectively). The same economic tendency is perpetuated in the economically dependent Canada, with respect to Canadian workers, in relation to the United States economy. Furthermore, the subordinate position of the indigenous Nations of Québec and elsewhere in the New World should be added to the list of Nations subject to this pattern of subordination in the name of self-determination. The hierarchical order of nations has resulted in the exploitation of the indigenous inhabitants' natural resources without even a compensating position as wage workers.

In spite of the changing relationship of forces resulting in a 'peace process' between the negotiating parties of the Middle East, the ideological imperative of Zionist ideology is still operative. The machinations of the 'Allon Plan'⁴, which set out the tactics for the military control of the occupied territories, alongside concessions for the territorial autonomy of the Palestinians, conforms to the notion of the hegemony of the State of Israel. Whether such a plan is capable of being implemented alongside the resistance offered by the Palestinian movement and the popular 'Intifada' is another matter. It may already be seen that the recognition of the political representatives of the Palestinians – in the form of the official Fatah leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the legislative body from which it derives its authority, the Palestine National Council – has undermined the Zionist ideology that was based upon the precondition of 'A land without a People for a People without a Land'⁵. The recognition of the Palestine

Authority provides de facto recognition of the Palestine Nation, even though it does not recognize a Palestine State. The destruction of the infrastructure of the Palestine National Authority is an attempt to annul that recognition.⁶

Much depends upon the transformation now underway within the Jewish People which is formulating a programme of national expression that is inclusive of the Palestinians where the monolithic State of Israel presently predominates and also inclusive of the Jewish identity in the various poly-national societies.

The progressive Modernist current among Jewish intellectuals has adopted a universalist perspective while excusing its recurrent failures by ascribing them to the nature of the Jewish People. The universalist critique offered by Maxim Rodinson's presuppositions merely takes advantage of a conjunctural appraisal to conclude that since the Arab Nations are more disadvantaged at this point in history, then Arab interests take precedence. Presumably, if the situation were to be reversed, as it was in the period immediately after the second World War, then Rodinson's analysis would be reversed, rendering this perspective analogous to an intellectual balance scale filled with factors based in subjective evaluations. Such a balance of legitimate interests created this crisis in the first place of course. Because of this perspective, Maxime Rodinson chose to conclude; "Zionism is a very special case of nationalism [...] a critique of a purely nationalist type is disarmed

before it, a universalist critique, on the contrary, is better-founded intellectually".³

By using such a self-imposed limitation in methodology which calls itself 'Universalist' there is no space for a global perspective that in its root meaning is Inter-National(s). One would be obliged to conclude that the establishment of the State of Israel was a necessarily justifiable - if unfortunate - option as does the empiricist Benny Morris, an Israeli historian. Rodinson's approach defeats itself by the lack of precision in its consideration of national consciousness and, consequently the lack of identity with respect to the Jewish People.

The particular conception of the Jewish People held by Maxime Rodinson is essentially based upon a religious identification, or a 'sentimentalism' as he puts it, in light of his own nonreligious character and his general intellectual affinities. Despite the general awareness which identifies Jewish people as being Jewish without requiring the religious identification, the error persists of using a criterion of religious subjectivism in order to avoid the concept of the national identity of the Jewish People.

As opposed to the notions that, either:

(1) the Jewish people constitute a religion, or, if indeed secular,

³ M. Rodinson, *op. cit.*, para. 3, p. 150.

(2) partake of a 'universalist' world culture, or,

(3) retain a citizenship as their only nationality,

on the other hand, Albert Memmi, a Tunisian Jewish Arab national by origin, provides a lucid defence of the existence of the Jewish people or nation as such:

(1) that they bear a 'sense of Jewishness', a sense of Peoplehood -- are self-conscious of being Jewish, aside from their participation in a common religion;

(2) that their lives are infused with all the multiplicity of elements of a common culture;

and that,

(3) unity is further ensured as victims of a common oppression from 'outside' in the form of anti-Jewish racism (Judaeophobia).

Memmi therefore proclaims the right of national liberation for the Jewish people, but as Zionism. While as a left-Zionist, he favours a socialist mode of government, he places the struggle for socialism as a secondary struggle, after the stage of the formation of the State. Left-Zionism persists in this line of thought, given that since the State has not been fully secured it remains the immediate priority, even if a State can never be secured and as if the State can ever be completely secured.

What is not considered by Memmi and other Zionist thinkers is a territorial rather than a State option, as well as cultural autonomy for Jewish Arabic communities in their lands of origin, apart from the State of Israel, within the context of Pan-Arabism. Alternatively, national autonomy in conjunction with that of the Palestinians may also be considered. Not only are such options a blind-spot in Memmi's thinking, but this lack of perspective also presents a problem with respect to Jewish people elsewhere. The State of Israel is upheld as the only feasible national solution and the only possible territorially-based homeland. Memmi's dissociation of national and social liberation leads him to such a nearsighted perspective, one that puts aside the choice of national-cultural autonomy and ignores the desire of a majority of Jewish people who wish to remain in their societies of residence, together with their adopted identity.

Further still, Memmi uses the problematic notion of 'specificity' of conditions to support his argument for territorial national liberation, together with his elaboration of the collectivity of the Jewish People. However, the Jewish 'specificity' of conditions also exists alongside the framework of other dominated peoples, trapped in a variety of situations, in one or more poly-national states, together with the Palestinian People. Placed in that broader framework, one can draw upon the developing international human rights law as it applies to auto-determination in its varying degrees, ranging from social

integration to territorial independence, with the intention of seeking a solution to problems of national existence of Jewish people wherever they may be.

5.1.1 Zionism as Nationalist Ideology

Although the ancient Israelis, the Hebrews, lived together with the Canaanites; the Amorites, the Hittites, and Jebusites (the founders of the city of Jerusalem), the Zionist ideology insists upon the myth that these Semitic sisters and brothers to the Jewish People did not exist. They continued to exist, of course, during the relatively brief period of the unitary Hebrew Kingdom (some 70 years), and they continue to exist up to the present time. The similarities of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic languages testifies to this proximity in origin. If the Zionist ideology persists in citing religious-historical writings as a rationale for military occupation, then it remains to be revealed how 'the seed of Abraham', who are recorded to be the inheritors of 'Canaan', do not include the descendants of Haj'jar and Abraham. If the banishment of Haj'jar and Ishmael at the insistence of the matriarch Sarah is to be utilized for the justification for the expulsion of the Palestinians and the appropriation of their lands, then this rationale is misplaced, for if Ishmael is not to be considered a justifiable descendent of Abraham then neither is King David to be considered a Hebrew (not to mention his own offspring Solomon) since the *Torah* ('Old Testament' less the subsequent chapters) reports him to be the

descendent of a Moabite women, Ruth - this last point being rather crucial since the Kingdom of David and Solomon comprises the greater part of the tradition of the ancient Israelite and Judic States. This is notwithstanding the conversion of Ruth since Haj'jar also was reported to be an adherent of Abrahamic monotheism. Cultural integration as a criterion is inapplicable as the Jewish Nation had not yet been proclaimed.⁸

Having set aside the formalist point criteria for a National entity as impractical, the methodology such as is developed preceding this Chapter would consider that the Jewish nation exists, by recognizing its apparent condition, apart from the contradiction of denying the Palestinian national identity and the phenomenon of Israeli patriotism. Jewish national-identity and Israeli patriotism, although distinct, are treated as identical by the centralizing State, Israel, which acts on the basis of the 'common will' of only a fraction of the Jewish People, while claiming to represent all of the Jewish People by a quasi-empirical definition.

The matter of territory is confused between two aspects that appear to be the same; Nation as the territory (rather than a People), and the territory as Nation (as in, territory = State)! The formal reduction is nation = territory = nation-state according to the Statist ideology, so equating the Nation to the State. This is the typical quandary that surfaces at the opening of any discussion of any Nation.

C'est en France que « fut pensée et appliquée au moment de la Révolution une conception globale de la frontière, comme ligne de coïncidence, entre les contours d'ensemble spatiaux fondamentaux mais différents, l'État et la Nation » précise Michel Foucher (9). Pour ce géographe, « l'émergence de l'État-nation, qui résulte d'une superposition, établit une interaction idéologique, entre territoire et nation (nation au sens, nouveau, de société civile se pensant comme origine de la souveraineté politique) » ⁴ ₁₀ [Translation endnote]

Amongst the Jewish People, these two aspects evidently do not apply, since the Nation does not generally live in the same territory and so nation and territory are not coincidental. In this case, only some 5,563,000 of the fifteen million Jewish people live within the State of Israel as its citizens₁₁. The Israel's State territory has nonetheless been promulgated as the national homeland, leaving aside the majority of the Jewish People living elsewhere, without a vote. The Jewish People is treated as though abandoned and left subject to rationalized anti-Jewish racism while the entire Nation is identified with the actions of the Zionist State.₁₂ In this manner, the Zionist movement seeks to create a separate identity out of collected fragments of the Jewish People, as an Jewish Nation-State, rather than a society of varying Nations.

The identification made between the Land and the Nation is merely a Statist conclusion. Consequently, it is possible to differentiate between the Zionist ideology and a broader territorialist programme of national-cultural

⁴ Philippe Pelletier, 'Les Nouveaux Territoires de l'État', pp. 37-52, *Etat, Politique, Anarchie*, Lyon, France, Atelier de Création Libertaire, 1993, p. 42.

and territorial autonomy by which the Jewish People, in various regions where they reside, would achieve a form of territorial and urban oriented national auto-determination.¹³ (See Section 5.3.1.2 Independence and Territoriality, Chapter V)

In the relation between territory and nation, evidently one is not necessarily identical to the other. While a territory may be the common possession of a nation, it is not necessarily true in general that the territory defines the nation, or that the nation shall define the territory. If this were the case, then this notion would become an exclusive aspect of such a conception of the nation, in the sense that non-residents would no longer be considered members of the Nation and members of the Nation could not reside in any other territory. The hierarchical priority assumes that only the subjects of a state have a legal nationality, by means of their citizenship granted by that territorial administration.

Likewise, in the example of the Dominion of Canada, it operates on the basis that there exists one legal national entity and identity, that being Canadian, defined simply by the identification made with a defined territorial state. Following this definition the territorially associated nation in the province of Québec exists in the context of Canadian state policy as a province, while the Québécoise (Kébécoiz) Nation lives not only in that province, but in various other provinces of Canada, and certain States of the

northeast U.S.A. (2,835,398; 1990 US Census). In addition there are Francophone nationalities associated with the Québécoise, such as the Acadien/ne of New Brunswick and Louisiana, the Métisse of Manitoba, and various Francophone First Nations in the territory of Québec (Kebek originally) itself.¹⁴ Consequently, a Nation is grander than the particular members residing in a nationally administered territory. The Nation is representative of a People, and is more extensive than a territory in general.

Furthermore the exclusive identity of a nation and a territory erroneously serves to define such a territory as existing only for that nation and none other; by example the State of Israel, as if it were a private hereditary privilege. This territorial exclusivity has been proposed not merely for one nation, but also involves the sense of the strategic alliance, as is put into operation between the United States of America and Israel, as a junior partner, in fulfilment of the biblical projection made of the Kingdom of Solomon (Psalms 47: 2-9) and the subsequent Christian 'Revelations'. Despite the effects of the Modernist era, the hierarchical theocratic tendency remains active in the ideology of modern political Zionism, which overtly manipulates precedents of antiquity to justify its current practice - as far as the balance of forces permits. The current Zionist ideology in its theocratic incarnation seeks its rationale in the religion or law of the *Torah*, insisting on guarding the same perspective as is recorded in 1 Samuel 8: 19-20, where the establishment of a theocratic monarchy seems to be the fulfilment of national self-determination. This sense of exclusivity and separation is why the Zionist

movement adopted as one of its slogans 'A Nation like other Nations' as if this alone were to fulfil the notion of equality, "And we must become, we also, like all the nations, and our king must judge us and go out before us and fight our battles".⁵ Obligatory immigration, or the ingathering, 'Aliya' as it is called in Zionist theory, is in effect de facto racialism for the reasons that it accepts the exclusion of the Jewish people from Inter-National societies despite their own overwhelming choice in the matter, and that it seeks the collaboration of the corresponding powers to ghettoize the Jewish People as a whole. While the Zionist movement recognizes Herzl as its founding father for having written the work *The State of Jews (Der Judenstat)*, it is actually Herder who should be given historical precedence. One of his references to the Jewish national minority is that of,

parasitical plants on the trunks of other nations; a race of cunning brokers, [...] who, in spite of all oppression, have never been inspired with an ardent passion for their own honour, for a habitation, for a country, of their own.⁶

It follows that this manifestation of racism is based in exclusive patriotism, as an 'idée fixe'. Following from this fundamental character of Zionism is the logic of exclusion that is applied reciprocally to the Palestinians, who are considered inferior in a racist hierarchy of oppression according to which the

⁵ *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., p. 328.

⁶ J.G. von Herder, *Reflections on The Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, The University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 144, see p. 163 also.

Jewish People are subordinated to the majority in the Occidental States. This generalized phenomenon is described by Rudolf Rocker,

The national-suppression policy of the great states before the War developed in the suppressed nationalities an extreme nationalism which finds expression today in the according by the new-made states of the same treatment to their national minorities which, as national minorities, they themselves once received - a phenomenon showing all too clearly that little states following the footsteps of great ones and imitate their practices.⁷

The Occidental conception of the hierarchy of societies is also spelled out in Hegel;

#351 The same consideration justifies civilized nations in regarding and treating as barbarians those who lag behind them in institutions which are the essential moments of the state. Thus a pastoral people may treat hunters as barbarians, and both of these are barbarians from the point of view of agriculturists, &c. The civilized nation is conscious that the rights of barbarians are unequal to its own and treats their autonomy as only a formality.⁸

The hierarchical methodology then is relative to the pace of economic development between different nations in contact with one other.

⁷ Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*. St. Paul, Minn., Michael E. Coughlin, (1947) 1978, p. 349.

⁸ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

Kant disparages the civilized nations in their ignorance of those nations existing in an under-developed economy;

At how great a distance from this perfection are the civilized nation, and especially the commercial nations of Europe? At what an excess of injustice do we not behold them arrive, when they discover strange countries and nations? (which with them is the same thing as to conquer). America, the countries inhabited by the negroes, the Spice Islands, the Cape, &c. were to them countries without proprietors, for the inhabitants they counted as nothing.⁹

In a like manner, former Prime Minister of Israel, Golda Meir, denied outright the existence of the Palestinian nation as if Palestine were a Land without a People.

The relative independence of 'the other' society is then a function of the balance of forces which are required for its recognition. In this manner, Aristotle refers to the slave caste as barbarians. Following from this mentality, it is inherent to the Zionist ideology that the Palestinians have been treated as if they had not functioned in their own society, because that society formed an economy of under-development which was not recognized as a State. Hegel points to the ranking to which developing nations are subjected, as a result of the lack of a State superstructure.

The question arises how far a nomadic people, for instance, or any people on a low level of civilization, can be regarded as a state.

⁹ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, Columbia University Press, 1939, p. 25.

As once was the case with the Jews and the Mohammedan peoples, religious views may entail an opposition at a higher level between one people and its neighbours and so preclude the general identity which is requisite for recognition.¹⁰

In much the same manner as European States considered the Jewish national minority an alien element, the Zionist perspective treats the Arab-Palestinian and Arab-Jewish population in a similar manner.¹⁵ Herzl's work *Der Judenstat*, presents this very aspect of Euro-centrism in Aristotelean terms; " 'We should there form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, and outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism' ".¹¹₁₆

Various critiques of Zionism note the feature in its ideology that accedes to the Nazi war of Judaeocide against the Jewish People and generally submits to the hypothesis of racialism being historically inevitable.¹² This also becomes the ontological rationale for Zionism's own military mentality, 'the right of conquest', and its self-rationalization in a hierarchy of Peoples. The exclusionary nature of the ideology of Zionism is most apparent in its association with the historic origins of the programme for a return to the land

¹⁰ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹¹ Ass'ad Razzouk, 'Zionism & Arab Human Rights', *Zionism and Arab Resistance*, Palestine Research Center, The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, (1968) 1973, p. 21 .

¹² Rabbi Schonfeld, 'The Holocaust Victims Accuse', pp. 11-32, *The End of Zionism and the liberation of The Jewish People*, eibie Weisfeld (ed.), Atlanta, Georgia, Clarity Press, 1989.

of the ancient Israeli Kingdom, as exemplified in the Christian Bible. This is an aspect of Christian ideology crucial to the hypothesis of a 'Judaean-Christian' heritage providing an historical lineage to a holy covenant utilized to legitimate the dominion of the State in the name of Christianity.

With the rise of Protestantism, there arose the programme of solving the Jewish 'Problem/Question' by proposing the mass migration of the Jewish People from their European residence to the Middle East, thus leaving each respective nationalism intact. This was proposed by Cromwell, Napoleon and the 'restorationists'¹⁷, all of whom harboured an affinity for the religious belief in the prophecies for the restoration of Israel, followed by a world conflict with the Oriental nations¹⁸, the further destruction of the Jewish people and an associated world dominion by the Christian States. The rise of the Zionist movement was a reflection of these Reformist phenomena, representing an echo of the Protestant movement amongst the Jewish assimilationist intellectuals who sought international recognition for their nation as any other Occidental nation, that is to say any other Christian Nation-State.

The origins of Zionist nationalism is evident to various observers; whether they be Yakov Rabkin ,

Rappelons que le sionisme s'inspire des nationalismes organiques de l'Europe centrale et orientale où les nationalistes luttent pour créer un État et donc un cadre légal et politique pour la nation qui existe déjà. Leurs contacts avec les aspects exclusifs du nationalisme

allemand, polonais ou ukrainien laissent des influences durables sur le mouvement sioniste et la société israélienne qu'il réussit à créer en Terre d'Israël. ...

L'opposition de principe à l'existence de l'État d'Israël est partagée par plusieurs courants de l'antisionisme religieux. La question n'est pas le territoire d'Israël – d'avant ou d'après 1967 – mais le simple fait de devenir une nation dans le sens politique du terme et d'imposer la souveraineté juive sur la Terre d'Israël. Un rabbin libéral conceptualise son opposition d'une façon similaire à celle d'un rabbin hassidique parce que leur lecture de la Torah, loin d'être univoque, leur fait rejeter la transformation des juifs en une entité nationale au sens européen du terme.¹³,₁₉

or Uri Davis,

It is impossible to understand the revival of the Jewish state without knowledge of the new settlement in the last three generations of the movement of Hibat Zion (Love of Zion), of Zionism, the Enlightenment and Hebrew literature, of the national and revolutionary movements in Europe in the nineteenth century [...].¹⁴

Knowing that their social limitations were prescribed in the societies from which they arose, such a programme offered them the one avenue left open to them for social fulfilment and/or advancement. This Zionist nationalism proposed the compromise then accepted in the nature of the prevalent

¹³ Yakov M. Rabkin, *Au nom de la Torah*, Saint-Nicolas, Qc., Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2004, pp. 30, 222.

¹⁴ Uri Davis, 'Appendix 2 David Ben-Gurion : Statement of Introduction of the Law of Return Before the Knesset (Exerpts)', pp. 201-203, *Apartheid Israel : Possibilities for the Struggle Within*, London & New York, Zed Books, 2003, p. 202.

exclusive nationalism that was apparent, widespread and uncontested. In reciprocity, the Zionist intellectual elite sought to reproduce the same ideology in their own image, as Zionism. In lieu of social assimilation Zionism offered assimilation to the universalism of the nation-state paradigm.

The Reformation limited itself to the reform of the Catholic theological empire into the Modern Nation-State, based on the ideology of nationalism. Rejecting the domination of a non-democratic power, the replication of method nonetheless led to an internal domination exercised by the sovereign Nation-State. While changing the Content of existence, the State was nevertheless retained in this reformist methodology. The Aristotelian mentality was simply incorporated. Zionism is merely the propagation of Jewish equal rights in terms that are acceptable to the Nation-State paradigm with civil rights leading to only those collective rights that were not in contradiction to that Nation-State concept. The shared conceptual apparatus with the European nation-state allows for the mutual reinforcement of their common ideological attributes.

Much could be written about the racist character of Zionism. Elmessiri in his *The Land of Promise : A Critique of Political Zionism* , Chapter 6 , points to Herzl and Weizmann who are shown to identify with the 'White' supremacist culture. This social tendency of national exclusion finds its culmination in a translation of Hitler's; « Pour moi, il n'y qu'un seul droit,

c'est le droit vital de la nation. »¹⁵ In a similar manner Israeli General Ariel Sharon, asserted in *Maariv* of January 25, 1974, that, 'the first and the most supreme value is the good of the State. The State is the supreme value.'²⁰¹⁶

The religious Zionist current of Yeshayahu Leibowitz (following from Ahad Ha'am/Asher Ginsberg, Rabbi Judah Magnes, and the Neturei Karta religious tendency) considers that, "Regarding the state as an intrinsic value is the essence of fascism. If this is true in general, it is all the more true when the values of 'the Judaism of Torah' are attached to it".¹⁷

These attributes of Zionism converge to form a principle of separation from any other National culture²¹. As if to embody this principle, the innovation currently under construction is the Apartheid-Ghetto Wall (Jabotinsky's *Iron Wall*, the 'Separation Fence')²², which seeks to deny citizenship to the captured population with the prospect of inducing transfer (ethnic- cleansing) as an alternative intention. Jabotinsky expresses that intention clearly in 1904;

¹⁵ Georges Bensoussan, *Génocide Pour Mémoire : Des Racines du Désastre aux Question D'Aujourd'hui*, Editions du Felin, 1989, p. 42, cité par H. Rauchsning, *Hitler m'a dit*, pp. 131, 133-134.

¹⁶ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Yeshayahu Leibowitz, *Judaism, Human Values, and the Jewish State*, London, Harvard University Press, 1992, p. 218, see 'Introduction' by Eliezer Goldman, 1991, p. 25.

A preservation of national integrity is impossible except by a preservation of racial purity, and for that purpose we are in need of a territory of our own where our people will constitute the overwhelming majority. If you should ask me in a sense of revolt and outrage: but surely in that case you want segregation at all costs! I would answer that one must not be afraid of words and not of the word 'segregation.'¹⁸

The bizarre spectacle of the Zionist movement prior to the Second European World War seeking its self-justification in the ascendance of the Nazi regime in Germany is found in the writings of the prominent American Rabbi Joachim Prinz in 1934 in his treatise *Wir Juden* which extrapolates the principle of self-determination into racialism,

Only a state based on the principle of the purity of the nation and the race can possibly endow dignity and honour on [and only on] those Jews who themselves subscribe to this principle. (1934: 150-4, 155-6).¹⁹

Having been subjected to the exclusionary character of the nation-state, the Zionist ideology has promoted that very conception in its own right as a matter of principle. The Nation-State is upheld as not only as a principle but as an inevitability to which any national collectivity must conform. The Zionist Federation of Germany in June 21, 1933 presents its adulation of the Nazi

¹⁸ Lenni Brenner, 'A Letter on Autonomy', 1904, pp. 7-20, 'Israel Among the Nations', Zvi Zohar, (ed.), 1966, *51 Documents*, Fort Lee, N.J., Barricade Books, 2002, p. 15.

¹⁹ Uri Davis, *Apartheid Israel*, London & New York, Zed Books, p. 10.

regime in conformity with that principle of the State appealing for reciprocal recognition;

It is our opinion that an answer to the Jewish question truly satisfying to the national state can be brought about only with the collaboration of the Jewish movement [...]

Zionism believes that a rebirth of national life, such as is occurring in German life through adhesion to Christian and national values, must also take place in the Jewish national group. [...]

On the foundation of the new state, which has established the principle of race, we wish so to fit our community into the total structure so that for us, too, in the sphere assigned to us, fruitful activity for the Father land is possible.²⁰₂₃

The world-view presented here is one of rampant fascism set to spread over all countries. This sense of exclusivity in national-identity is reductionist, leading into a racialism which succumbed to the subjugation of the Jewish People itself. The contradiction between the Statism of the Zionist movement and the interests of the Jewish People is evident, in addition to the obvious contradiction to the presence of another Nation in the Land sought after.

The Marxist anti-Zionist position, based in principle on the rejection of the Jewish national entity, alongside the Zionist response of State homogenization, are each a consequence of the false identity made between the

²⁰ Lucy S. Dawidowicz, 'The Zionist Federation of Germany Addresses the New German State', pp. 150-155, *A Holocaust Reader*, New York, Behrman House, inc., 1976, pp. 151-2, and, Lenni Brenner, 'The Zionist Federation of Germany Addresses the New German State', pp. 42-46, *51 Documents, op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

Nation and State. As such, Zionism provides an invalid identity with the territory which it administers by ideological necessity alone. The reason why the Marxist critique has failed in its contest with the Zionist ideology is due to the relative advantage Zionism retains in recognizing national-identity, this attribute being one factor in the adoption of the Balfour letter in 1917, just as the Jewish people in the Russian Soviet revolution had temporally won their national autonomy.

5.1.2 National Conceptions of Antiquity

According to the primordial view of nation formation, the Nation precedes the formation of the State.

[...] the Jews were the example of a people who without any home at all had been able to keep their identity through the centuries and could therefore be cited as proof that no territory was needed to constitute a nationality [...] the Jews were a perfect model of a nation without a state and without visible institutions.²¹

In the 'Hagadah' (considered the earliest Hebrew text), it is noted that a party of "three-score and ten souls"²² over a period of four hundred years,

²¹ Hannah Arendt, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240.

²² *Passover Hagadah*, New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1921, Charlap (ed.), p. 10.

“ ‘ he there became a nation. (וַיְהִי שָׁם לְגוֹי) ’ [...] that the children of Israel were distinguished, even in Egypt, as a peculiar nation.”²³

What is peculiar, or rather particular, in the Jewish tradition, is that a Civil Society was formed into a Nation, without a State structure, “a nation from the midst of another nation (גוֹי מִקֶּרֶב גוֹי)”.²⁴ This Hebrew-Jewish tradition is described in the histories recounted pertaining to the time of Moses, when an assembly of the Israelites was convoked as well as a deliberative council formed to replace himself as a monarchical figure.²⁵ Such is the nature of the nascent Hebrew Nation. In the paragraphs of ‘Numbers’ 28: 18, 28: 25-26, 29: 1, 29: 7, 29: 12, 29: 35 there are six “holy conventions” convoked and one “solemn assembly/sacred occasion”.²⁶ The institutions of national representation were established in this manner; “Those are the elected of the assembly, the chieftains of their ancestral tribes: they are

²³ *Hagadah, Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁴ *Hagadah, Ibid.*, p.13.

²⁵ *The Torah*, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962, ‘Exodus’, 35: 1, p. 164, and, *Holy Scriptures*, Brooklyn, New York, Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, inc., (1961) 1970, ‘Exodus’, 35: 1, p. 112, and, *The Bible for Windows*, Version 2.0, King James Version, ‘Numbers’, 035:001.

²⁶ *The Torah, Ibid.*, ‘Numbers’, 29:1, p 304, and, *Holy Scriptures, Ibid.*, ‘Numbers’, 29:1, p 197-199, and, *The Bible, Ibid.*, ‘Numbers’, 029:001.

the heads of the contingents of Israel",²⁷ with the name 'Israel' being the title of the Nation as a civil society and not a particular territory.

The formulation of the social compact for the Jewish People was given the content of a theocratic covenant;

And Moses proceeded to call all Israel and to say to them:
 "Hear, O Israel, [Sh'mai Isroael] the regulations and the judicial
 decisions that I am speaking in YOUR ears today, and YOU must
 learn them and be careful to do them. 2 Jehovah our G~d concluded
 a covenant with us in Ho'reb."²⁸

The theocratic authoritarian character of the covenant is displayed in the eternally proclaimed regulations and judicial decisions as well as *Torah* references such as;

For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy G~d: the Lord thy G~d
 hath chosen thee to be His own treasure, out of all peoples that are
 upon the face of the earth.²⁹ [and]

²⁷ *The Torah*, op. cit., 'Numbers', 1:16, p. 241, and, *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 'Numbers', 1:16, p. 158, and, *The Bible*, op. cit., 'Numbers', 001:016.

²⁸ *The Torah*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 5: 1-2, p. 334, and, *Pentateuch and Haftorahs*, London, Soncino Press, 5713-1952, 'Deuteronomy', 5: 1-2, p. 765, and, *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 5: 1-2, p. 216, and, *The Bible*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 005:001-2.

²⁹ *Pentateuch and Haftorahs*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 7: 6, p. 775, and, *The Torah*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 7: 6, p. 338, and, *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 7: 6, p. 218. *The Bible*, op. cit., 'Deuteronomy', 007:006.

“ ‘ For to me the sons of Israel are slaves. They are my slaves whom I brought out of the land of Egypt. I am Jehovah YOUR G~d.³⁰

Knowing that the Nation existed in the Form of a civil society, as well as theocratic imperative, during the period of primordial social formation, it is appropriate to consider the nature of that particular Nation. We know national-identity, in general, to be the conscious identity with a particular nation; thus, national identity indicates the presence of a nation. This national identity is also defined as the collective consciousness (or personality) of a People, with its culture, history, religion, language/s, or any other particularities perpetuated by such a People. In this sense a nation is defined by a People, since it is the People who conceive of themselves as the Nation.

Such an identity will be examined to determine the characteristics of a Nation. The various tendencies of national consciousness to be analysed remain general attributes, as expressions of national-identity in general. Although such tendencies range in importance from one nation to another and from one period to another, one nation does not differ from another in its fundamental nature.

Considering the widely divergent endeavours to define national identity, a procedure is necessary for the analysis of the Nation into its root characteristics. The contradictory definitions of national-identity and so of the

³⁰ *The Torah*, *op. cit.*, 'Leviticus', 25: 55, p. 232, and, *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Leviticus', 25: 55, p. 154, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Leviticus', 025:055.

nation, lead one to consider how these antagonistic characteristics could each be detected in the same phenomenon. In order to know how national consciousness manifests itself, we will go beyond a sterile debate over whether national-identity is negative or positive, good or evil, progressive or reactionary, bourgeois or petit bourgeois. There is no doubt that the phenomenon of national consciousness is still operative today and is making its influence felt in every social structure that exists. However, it would be self-defeating to use the European framework or the Modern era as a standard in the examination of national-identity, since its roots planted themselves long before they gave fruit to political structures such as in the European political theatre.

The term Nation, as commonly defined, was not used during the Oriental antiquity in the same sense. Consequently it is necessary to examine the historical roots for the familiar modern term at a time when countries as they are known in this era, did not yet exist, in order to know its internal founding nature. In such a manner may we appraise the Nation for itself, independent of the embellishments that have since arisen.

5.1.3 Elements in the Torah

5.1.3.1 Hierarchical Notions

In the matter of territory, there exists a confusion between two aspects that only appear to be similar; that is, the Nation as a territory and territory as a Nation! This is the typical quandary that strikes at the clarity of the discussion of the nation. The coincidence of a Nation and a particular territory is only a matter of chance and is not a defining characteristic of a given nation, or of the Nation in general. It should also be taken into consideration that neither does a Nation remain confined and defined by a territory, nor does a territory define its occupants as a Nation. The identity of the Nation with a particular territory is in contradiction to the existence of the Nation since, as a People it can never remain confined to a particular location. In effect, a Nation cannot be presumed to be defined by association with a particular territory as if property were the defining characteristic of its natural identity. A territory does not make a Nation. It is rather a matter of self-conception and the image of the self in some manifestation of the Nation that is crucial. Whether that be a territory or not is secondary and should not take precedence over the nature of the Nation itself.

The consideration given to the territory as a fundamental criterion often leads to the confusion between its aspects. It may be stated that territory is one means by which a Nation forms its societal environment, even though society itself is not subordinate to territory. The resulting inversion between a social context and a territory is the result, as in Gellner. It is rather the economy that is directly linked to a given territorial site in most cases,

especially in agricultural societies. The distinction between Nation and territory is based in the choice of methodology; the materialism of economic determinism or a multi-faceted problematic. It is necessary to bring the concept of Nation out of the hierarchical schemas in order to reveal its actual nature. That distinction with respect to territory, provides the basis for the conception of the Nation as a People rather than some materialist fetish. The primordial conception of the Nation is based in the collective self-identity of the People who form a distinct culture, having a particular historical experience, and origin, who wish to form a civil society to maintain such an historical acquisition in perpetuity.

This is the very conception brought forward by Maimonides as Ahad Ha'am presents the matter,

the conception of primitive Judaism, as we find it in the Pentateuch: that immortality belongs not to the individual but to the nation; that the national form persists for ever [...] the life of society [is] the purpose of the life of the individual [...] ³¹

Typically, the national image is represented as a symbolic representation of the Monarchy, or the deity. This is what is termed the Head of State. The *raison d'être* for a nation in the image of a monarchy arises from

³¹ Ahad Ha'am, 'The Supremacy of Reason', pp. 228-288, *Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic*, New York, Schocken Books, 1962, pp. 234, 246.

the statist self-conception as a garrison against non-nationals, and having as its intention the enlargement of its domain, while taking the Form of a Nation.

This is parallel to the Nietzschean and Hellenic-Spartan conception of 'actual man' in relation to an alienated society, rather than the organic conception of Maimonides.³²₂₅

It is explicitly written that;

- 6 [Saying:] "I, even I, have
 installed my king
 Upon Zion, my holy mountain."
7 Let me refer to the decree
 of Jehovah;
 He has said to me: "You are
 my son;
 I, today, I have become your
 father.
8 Ask of me, that I may give
 nations as your inheritance
 And the ends of the earth
 as your possession.
9 You will break them with an
 iron sceptre,
 As though a potter's vessel
 you will dash them to pieces."³³

³² Ahad Ha'am, 'The Supremacy of Reason', pp. 228-288, *Ibid.*, p. 247.

³³ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, 'Psalms', (Book One) 2: 6-7, p. 628, and, *The Bible, op. cit.*, 'Psalms', (Book One) 002:006-7.

The competitive motivation of the empire is inherent to the exclusivism of nationalism as in the Nietzschean extrapolation of the 'Übermensch' to the Nation-State itself³⁴. The historical rationale utilized by the ideology of the paternalistic monarchy is used to validate that exclusivism. By consequence, it is territory as an imperium that is the heritage of the monarchist principle, but not of the Nation.

In the absence of productive means, in terms of resources or technique, a nation may fall into the practice of taking the strengths of others (plunder or slaves) in substitution for that which is lacking in their political economy and, in place of the research necessary to discover such means for themselves. To institute this consequential hierarchy, all that is necessary is the belief that the needs of oneself, and of one's own nation, are a priority beyond the needs of other nations; that is to say, other nations are considered inferior in respect to certain criteria and needs are based on some attribute/quality associated with the dominant nation.

The primordial origins of the nation found in the common socioeconomic conditions of a People is found as a theme in various contexts. In the commentary of Harold Bloom, he refers to the Hebrews or Hairu of 2000 B.C.E. as, "wanderers or semi-nomads, perhaps more a social caste than

³⁴ Ahad Ha'am, 'The Transvaluation of Values', pp. 165-187, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

an ethnic unity".³⁵ This definition of a People by social-caste reoccurs in Rodinson.

In the same fashion, the ancient Hebrew code also imposed a hierarchy based in social caste, "And now you are cursed people, and a slave's position and being gatherers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my G~d, will never be cut off from you' ".³⁶ The Hivites were not considered to be of the same Society, even while being residents of the same territory, because they were not of the same Nation, since the Land is being equated to the Nation exclusively. The discriminatory exclusive feature of nationalism is implemented or perpetuated as a social caste. With the subsequent integration of the 'foreign' caste into an economic order, we have the formation of class divisions along predominantly national cleavages. In modern civil society immigrants and their subsequent national minorities form a supplementary Order in all classes, even though not in all class strata.

The nascent theocratic order and monarchist/Pharaonic principle is inherent in the citation above, i.e. 'the house of my G~d'. This precursor of the State is founded in the exclusivist tendency of nationalism. In other cases, exclusivity is expressed as outright annihilation.

Being ingrained in the historical memory, national castes remained an

³⁵ Harold Bloom, *Ibid.*, p. 193.

³⁶ *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Joshua', 9: 23, p. 264, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Joshua', 009:023.

accepted feature.

44 As for your slave man and your slave girl who become yours from the nations that are round about YOU people, from them YOU may buy a slave man and a slave girl. 45 And also from the sons of the settlers who are residing as aliens with YOU, from them YOU may buy, and from their families that are with YOU whom they had born to them in YOUR land; and they must become YOUR possession. 46 And YOU must pass them on as an inheritance to YOUR sons after YOU to inherit as a possession to time indefinite. You may use them as workers, but upon YOUR brothers the sons of Israel, you must not tread, the one upon the other, with tyranny.³⁷

This conception becomes ingrained as the mechanism for the formation of subordinated classes as a consequence of becoming a captive nation; the passage following serving to promote such an imperative;

And gradually he gave them
the lands of the nations,
And they kept taking
possession of the product of
the hard work of national
groups.³⁸

The aspirations of a national culture for self-sufficiency may be thus translated into being a discriminatory feature, if this self-sufficiency is

³⁷ *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Leviticus', 25: 44-46, p. 154, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Leviticus', 025:044-6.

³⁸ *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Psalms', 105:44, p. 701, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Psalms', 105:044.

conceived of as a thing in itself. By such means a national culture is equated with society at large, as if there were no other nations in that environment. That would be the nascent conception of a State and its corresponding ideology of homogeneity. Those nations that live under such a centralized authority without those collective social rights that are granted to recognized members of the society, are disfavoured because they are not of the same nation which has established the national authority. This Authority has the function of guarding the priority of a founding nation in the chosen territory, by all necessary means.²⁶

However, the people refused to listen to the voice of Samuel and said: 'No, but a king is what will come to be over us. And we must become, we also, like all the nations, and our king must judge us and go out before us and fight our battles'.³⁹

With the conception of a Monarchy, the society conditioned within that structure reflects the same image of domination and separation;

³⁹ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, 1 'Samuel', 8: 19-20, p. 328, and, *The Bible, op. cit.*, 1 'Samuel', 008:019-20.

'And you must be very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses by never turning away from it to the right or to the left, by never going in among these nations, these that remain with you'.⁴⁰

and formally, " "And for your part, you must not conclude a covenant with the inhabitants of this land" ".⁴¹ A hierarchy of nations here coincides with the nature of its economic class stratification. Such rationalizations are provided in the national myths found in the theology at the foundations for the constitutional law of a particular State, that does not recognize 'the Other' of the nations present but unaccounted for.

On the Babylonian monument known as the stele of Hammurabi, the king is represented as receiving from the god Shamash the ancient collection of laws commonly called the Code of Hammurabi. The sanctity of the Code was affirmed in the myth of its reception from the hand of the deity. Similarly, in the case of the early legislation of the Kingdom of Israel, the laws are embedded in a narrative framework which is based on the account of the heritage conceived on Mount Sinai, contained in Exod. 21-3, and generally called the Book of the Covenant. The laws are represented as inscribed on tablets of stone and handed / transmitted to Moses, the Prophet, inspired by the divine concept,²⁷ so establishing their sanctity.²⁸

⁴⁰ *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Joshua', 23:6-7, p. 281, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Joshua', 023:006-7.

⁴¹ *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Judges', 2:2, p. 285, and, 'The Bible', *op. cit.*, 'Judges', 002:002.

The conception and dissemination of Law is applied to the Nations and justified by the existence of the associated deity, transmitted by the agency of the State in the person of the King, or by the Prophet ('Moshiach'), in the name of the Nation. In the case of the Kingdom of Israel it is written very precisely that; "[...] Jehovah, Israel's G~d", ⁴² and, "[...] Jehovah the G~d of armies [...]", ⁴³ being overall, the identification of the dominant Nation with the Land, the Society, and the Law, together with the State, and furthermore, with a deity, all of which consolidate a hierarchic progression seeking to rationalize an absolute power. Ahad Ha'am contests this concept; "There is no such thing as a G~d of Israel and a different G~d of Egypt; there is one G~d...", ⁴⁴ as in the Abrahamic tradition.

The formation of the Christian religious ideology composed by Peter, John and other disciples of the historical personage, 'Jesus the Christ' / Rebbe Yeshua ben Yussuf, sought a universalist rationale for the national society with which the Christian social movement expected to achieve hegemony by conversion. The Jewish Nation's rejection of that assimilation, justified only by that universalist criterion, created a social contradiction. That became the point of friction between the religious ideologies of Christianity in its

⁴² *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, 'Judges', 5: 3, p. 289, and, *The Bible, op. cit.*, 'Judges', 005:003.

⁴³ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, I 'Kings', 19: 14, p. 428, and, *The Bible, op. cit.*, I 'Kings', 019:014.

⁴⁴ Ahad Ha'am, 'Moses', pp. 206-227, *op cit.*, p. 221.

opposition to Judaism, and in a similar manner, to Islam as well. A crucial point is imbedded into the Christian Testament during John's account of a narrative between the figure 'Jesus Christ' and the Jewish officials named Pharisees, although the narrative there is concerning the Jewish people;

42 Jesus said to them: "If G~d were YOUR Father, YOU would love me, for from G~d I come forth and am here. Neither have I come of my own initiative at all, but that One sent me forth. 43 Why is it YOU do not know what I am speaking? Because YOU cannot listen to my word. 44 You are from YOUR father the Devil, and YOU wish to do the desires of YOUR father. [...] 47 He that is from G~d listens to the sayings of G~d. This is why YOU do not listen, because YOU are not from G~d".⁴⁵

Ambiguous at best, this account nonetheless prioritizes one exclusive Content given to the Form of the deity, from another, serving to establish a hierarchy. This is expressed explicitly by the disciple John;

22 Who is the liar if it is not the one that denies that Jesus is the Christ? This is the antichrist, the one that denies the Father and the Son. Everyone that denies the Son does not have the Father either.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 'John', 8: 42-47, p. 1163, and, *Holy Bible*, 'John', 8: 42-47, Guelph, Ontario, The Gideons International in Canada, New American Standard Bible, The Lockman Foundation, 1973, p. 768, and, *The Bible*, op. cit., 'John', 008:042-47.

⁴⁶ *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 1 'John', 2: 22-23, p. 1316, and, *The Bible*, op. cit., 1 'John', 002:022-3.

The dissociation of the Jewish Nation from the hegemonic religious ideology continues by creating the tie between the concept of the 'Moshiach' (the Christ in Greek) with a biological link to the deity, as progeny to create the social demarcation, as in previous religious symbols. Such a discriminatory method²⁹ continues in the written remarks to propose the bizarre biological theology that presents a racist theory of sin distinguishing between "The children of G~d and the children of the Devil [...]".⁴⁷ The religious justification for oppressive social discrimination follows,

35 The Father loves the Son and has given all things into his hand. 36 He that exercises faith in the Son has everlasting life; he that disobeys the Son will not see life, but the wrath of G~d remains upon him.⁴⁸

This separation of a particular heritage by way of a genetic identity gives rise to the isolation of a nation and a religious current at the same time, serving to identity the nations which do not adopt the Christian religion and its authority as their own (as in the imposed separation between Ishmael and Isaac). Consequently, the retribution inflicted upon the disfavoured nations is ascribed to the will of Authority itself, the deity; as an expression of self-denial. The exclusivist nationalist tendency completes the circle thus made about itself with the genetic connection by family lineage in place, i.e. from the 'Father' to the 'Son' (a type of Covenant). In this way ethnocide and

⁴⁷ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, 1 'John', 3: 10, p. 1317.

⁴⁸ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, 'John', 3: 35-36, p. 1155.

genocide become an eventual 'fait accompli', whether practised by any one religion or another.

5.1.3.2 Colonialist Conceptions

With the progression of the nationalist-religious hierarchy the following citation - codified during the period of the Kingdoms of Solomon and David, a rationale of unconstrained power perceptions gives consideration to controlling the entire world.

- 2 For Jehovah, the Most High,
 is fear-inspiring,
 A great King over all the
 earth.
- 3 He will subdue peoples under us
 And national groups under
 our feet.
- 4 He will choose for us our
 inheritance,
 The pride of Jacob, whom
 he has loved. Sh'lah.
- 5 G~d has ascended with joyful
 shouting,
 Jehovah with the sound of
 the horn.
- 6 Make melody to G~d, make
 melody.
 Make melody to our King,
 make melody.
- 7 For G~d is King of all the earth;

Make melody, acting with
discretion.

8 G~d has become king over the
 nations.

 G~d himself has taken
 his seat upon his
 holy throne.

9 The nobles of the peoples
 themselves have
 gathered together,
 [With] the people of the
 G~d of Abraham.

 For to G~d the shields
 of the earth belong.

 He is very high in
 his ascent.⁴⁹

The Christian ideology adopted this very same premise for itself, turning it towards the Jewish Nation, as well as other non-Christian societies.

Together with the absolute Monarchy, its extrapolation arrives as the Empire.⁵⁰ This superstructure is put into operation by the assumption that it is necessary to compete in the search to satisfy the urgency of self-sufficiency. As all these phenomena amongst the different nations are parallel, a relative commonality of objective, a balance of power or mutual tolerance is constructed between the States by which each power nonetheless seeks to establish its predominance over the other.

⁴⁹ *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Psalms', 47:2-9, p. 659, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Psalms', 047:002-9.

⁵⁰ K. O'Sullivan See, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

The Theocratic tendency provides its own rationale after the fact;

50 In the steppes of Moab, at the Jordan near Jericho, the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: 51 Speak to the Israelite people and say to them: When you cross the Jordan into the land of Canaan. 52 you shall dispossess all the inhabitants of the land [...] 53 And you shall take possession of the land and settle in it, because I have given the land to you to possess it.⁵¹

In the book of Deuteronomy another version of this dictate is presented;

7 When the Lord your G~d brings you into the land that you are about to invade and occupy, and He dislodges many nations before you, the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, seven nations much larger than you. 2 and the Lord your G~d delivers them to you and you defeat them, you must doom them to destruction: grant them no terms and give them no quarter. [You must conclude no covenant with them not show them any favor. HS] 3 You shall not intermarry with them: do not give your daughters to their sons or take their daughters for your sons; 4 for they will turn your children away from Me to worship other gods; then will the Lord's anger blaze forth against you and He will soon wipe you out.⁵²

⁵¹ *The Torah*, *op. cit.*, 'Numbers', 33: 50-53, p. 315, and, *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Numbers', 33: 50-53, p. 205 (see 'Numbers', 33: & 34:), and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Numbers', 033: 050-53.

⁵² *The Torah*, *op. cit.*, 'Deuteronomy', 7: 1-4, p. 337, and, *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Deuteronomy', 7: 1-4, p. 218, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Deuteronomy', 007:001-4.

The hegemonic imperative even presents a threat unto its own People, in submission to the ultimate Authority. Ironically, this hegemonic tendency, which became transposed into Christianity, came to be re-appropriated by the Zionist current of thought, as if history were turning upon itself, as a circular piece of logic.

5.1.3.3 Inter - National/s Relations of Antiquity

The Abrahamic tradition₃₁ presents itself in the historical consciousness of the Islamic culture as well as the Arab and Jewish Peoples. Historic references are also contained in the *Torah* and *Mishnah* books of Judaism. This tradition is based in the rupture from the Patriarchal principle arising from Abram's departure from the house of his father Terah (Terach) in Sumer. Although Abram was not a Patriarch in principle, in practice he was seen to be and was later re-named Abraham ('father of nations'). This ambiguity is exemplified in the dichotomy between the two wives, Sarah and Haj'jar. Asserting the Matriarchal/Patriarchal privilege for her own son Isaac, Sarah brought about the expulsion of Ishmael and Haj'jar.₃₂ The caste order between Sarah the Sumerian and her Egyptian servant Haj'jar determined the privilege of exclusion. Nonetheless in the formation of the Jewish nation there are numerous instances of non-exclusion; the inclusion of various other nations amongst the slaves that left Egypt with Moses, the accession of David as

monarch of the Nation of Israel (although he was born of a Moavite mother by origin, Ruth) as well as Peretz, who was born of the problematic relationship between Yehuda and Tamar⁵³, and then King Solomon, who produced a progeny of various nations and religions. Despite the legalistic norms of orthodoxy, the traditional Jewish social-practice co-existed with other nations, there was never a separation. Furthermore, the Nation was considered to be a matter of identity and not family origin, as in the case of Ruth.

In addition, the Jewish Nation does not base itself upon some myth of divine progeny, as is illustrated here;

The founders of the Jewish People are not divine or semi-divine beings, as is the case with the mythical heroes of Greece, Rome or the Teutonic nations. They are purely human personalities [...]⁵⁴

so avoiding hierarchical implications.

It is thus also conceivable that the Nation has its basis in non-exclusive categories. Alongside the hierarchical conceptions of the nation rest the social conventions of Inter-National/s relations, based in mutual recognition and accord.

⁵³ Binyamin Kahane, 'Terach the Father of Avraham', *Haggadah of the Jewish Idea*, Yeshiva of the Jewish Idea, Kfar Tapuach, Israel.

⁵⁴ J.H. Hertz, 'Genesis - Additional Notes, G - Abraham I', *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs*, London, Soncino Press, 5713-1952, p. 200.

It is recorded that Abraham ben Terah₃₃ (Abram/Avrum), made a covenant with the Philistines on behalf of the Hebrews concerning a water well;

22 At that time Abimelech and Phicol, chief of his troops, said to Abraham, ' [...] swear to me here by G~d that you will not deal falsely with me or with my kith and kin, but will deal with me and with the land in which you have sojourned as loyally as I have dealt with you. ' 24 And Abraham said: ' I swear it. ' [...] 27 Abraham took sheep and oxen and gave them to Abimelech, and the two of them made a pact. [...] 31 Hence that place was called Beer-sheba, for there the two of them swore an oath. 32 When they had concluded the pact at Beer-sheba [...] 34 And Abraham resided in the land of the Philistines a long time.⁵⁵

Soon after, Abraham made another agreement for the burial site for his wife Sarah (Sar'ai) at Kiriath-arba (Hebron/Hevron) in the land of Canaan with members of the Hittite nation.

4 ' I am a resident alien among you; sell me a burial site among you, that I may remove my dead for burial '. [...] Abraham bowed low to the people of the land, the children of Heth [...] 16 Abraham accepted Ephron's terms. Abraham paid out to Ephron the money that he had named in the hearing of the children of Heth - four hundred shekels of silver at the going merchants' rate. 17 So Ephron's land in Machpelah, facing Mamre - the field with its cave and all the trees anywhere within the confines of that field - 18 passed

⁵⁵ *The Torah*, *op. cit.*, 'Genesis', 21: 22-34, p. 35, and, *Holy Scriptures*, *op. cit.*, 'Genesis', 21: 22-34, p. 30, and, *The Bible*, *op. cit.*, 'Genesis', 021:022-34.

to Abraham as his possession, in the presence of the children of Heth, of all who sat on the council of his town.⁵⁶

In this manner a social code was formed, thus contributing to a civil code as the practice and tradition of the civil society in formation. Evidently, the tendency to hierarchical exclusivity is not necessarily the dominant manner of interaction concerning other nations of that age.

The ancient 'covenant' (constitution, treaty, pact) and the more recent 'contract' (diplomacy) were formed out of the natural interactions of various social formations; nations living in proximity, trade relations, inter-clan formation of tribes, and inter-tribal compacts in the process of nation-building. Pierre Joseph Proudhon points to this tendency as a fundamental process in society.

Founded upon contract, the solemn expression of liberty, federation could never fail to appeal to man. More than twelve centuries before Christ, it appeared among the Hebrew tribes, separate from one another in their own valleys, but, like the tribes of Ishmael, united by a sort of contract of kinship. Only a little later it emerged in the Amphictyonic league [...] ⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *The Torah*, op. cit., 'Genesis', 23: 4-18, pp. 37-38, and, *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 'Genesis', 23: 4-18, pp. 31-32, and, *The Bible*, op. cit., 'Genesis', 023:004-18.

⁵⁷ Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *The Principle of Federation*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979, p. 50.

The ancient Nation then was formed from a People with conflicting tendencies as its characteristics.

The translation of the *Torah* makes it obvious how the Palestinian People are viewed in the context of a Restorationist programme. The edict to occupy 'The Holy Land' / Levantine is treated as a divine crusade requiring no other justification than the final victory of its ideology. The legend/history of Jericho (or its modern reflection, the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila ³⁴) that followed, is an illustration of the methodology involved.

~~And he will drive out the Canaanites from before you, and you shall possess the land.~~
And he will drive out the Canaanites from before you, and you shall possess the land by the edge of the sword.⁵⁸

' Thus I gave you a land for which you had not toiled and cities that you had not built, and you took up dwelling in them. Vineyards and olive groves that you did not plant are what you are eating.' [...]

"And Jehovah proceeded to drive out all the peoples, even the Am'orites dwelling in the land from before us. As for us, too, we shall serve Jehovah, because he is our G~d".⁵⁹

This reference to the Covenant as made by the Deity with Abraham the patriarch for his descendants without distinction so including the first-born son

⁵⁸ *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, Brooklyn, Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 1961, p. 259, 'Joshua', 6: 20 6: 21.

⁵⁹ *Holy Scriptures, Ibid.*, 'Joshua', 24: 13, 24: 18, pp. 282-283.

Ishmael is transformed so that the promised Land is renamed to be the possession of Jacob and his descendants alone.

The exclusive Covenant with which an expulsion of the indigenous nations is justified is found in the 'Old Testament' books appended to the five books of the *Torah-Pentateuch* and derives from the *Torah's* reference to a lineage, allowing for an exclusive interpretation assigned to Isaac and Sarah. There is an ambiguity introduced with reference to the lineage of Abraham and so the legitimacy of his lineage, thus introducing a national principle.

- 10 And G~d said to him,
 "Your name is Jacob;
 You shall no longer be called Jacob,
 But Israel shall be your name".
 Thus He called him Israel.
- 11 G~d also said to him.
 "I am G~d Almighty;
 Be fruitful and multiply ;
 A nation and a company of nations
 shall come from you,
 And kings shall come forth from you.
- 12 "And the land which I gave to
 Abraham and Isaac,
 I will give it to you,
 I will give it to you,
 And I will give the land to your descendants after you".⁶⁰

⁶⁰ *New American Standard Bible, op. cit.*, 'Genesis', 35: 10-12, p. 27.

Repeated in the final words of *The Pentateuch* from Moses, is a second declaration of the Covenant,

And the Lord said to him; this is the land of which I swore to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, 'I will give it to your offspring.' I have let you see it with your own eyes, but you shall not cross there.⁶¹

The inclusion of these references to Abrahamic lineage in the books of Moses *The Pentateuch*, points to the prerogative of the account's editor, after the fact, since Moses is found contextually on Mount Nebo dying, alone without means to transmit such a declaration. The linear formula of Abraham = Isaac = Jacob is thus a secondary tendency introduced in the post-Masoretic period by the 'JEPD' editor of 400 B.C.E.

Evidently, the covenant with Abraham had come to be considered as supplanted by a more restrictive interpretation in the subsequent covenant with Jacob/Israel, a covenant in the exclusive sense. It is this latter interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant that is claimed by the Zionist exclusivity.

However, what is not often referred to is the precedent established by Jacob just prior to the covenant. In revenge for the sexual assault and

⁶¹ 'Deuteronomy 34.4, *The Torah : The Five Books of Moses*, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962, p. 393.

confinement of their sister Dinah, the daughter of Leah whom she had borne to Jacob, his two sons Simeon and Levi took action. After the Hivites of Shechem (Nablus/Nablis) in Canaan became circumcised in order to reconcile themselves with the Hebrews;

25 Now it came about on the third day, when they were in pain, that two of Jacob's sons, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, each took his sword and came upon the city unawares, and killed every male.

26 And they killed Hamor and his son Shechem with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah from Shechem's house, and went forth. [...]

29 and they captured and looted all their wealth and all their little ones and their wives, even all that 'was' in the houses.

30 Then Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, 'You have brought trouble on me, by making me odious among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites; and my men being few in number, they will gather together against me and attack me and I shall be destroyed. I and my household.' ⁶²

In this single instance the opposing tendencies of exclusivity and inclusivity are intertwined, although it may be observed that the conditions of the covenant with Jacob was predicated upon his acceptance of co-existence with the other Nations in Canaan.

⁶² *New American Standard Bible, op. cit.*, 'Genesis', 34; 25-30, p. 27.

In reference to the massacre of Sabra-Shatila September 16-18, 1982, Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary General of the League of Arab States pointed out the exclusivist tendency of Zionism in biblical terms;

The world [...] is more aware today than at any other time, that these forms of atrocities are at the core of Zionist ideology. One need only recall the series of Israeli massacres directed at the Arabs in Deir Yaseen, Qubia, Nahaleen, Kfar Kassem, Khan Yunes, and Rafah.⁶³

A later atrocity at the 'Tomb of the Patriarch' was conducted February 25, 1994, the day before the *Torah* portion/parsha of the massacre of the Hebrew Amelkites was read out in the Jewish synagogues around the world.

Ironic though it is, King Solomon of the Kingdom of Israel, though a descendent of the Moabites himself, is recorded as having treated the neighbouring nations of Canaan in an exclusionary manner,

As for all the people remaining over from the Am'or-ites, the Hit'tites, the Per'izzites, the Hi'vites and the Jeb'usites, who were not part of the sons of Israel, their sons who had been left over after them in the land whom the sons of Israel had been unable to devote to destruction, Sol'o-mon kept levying them for slavish forced labor until this day.⁶⁴

⁶³ Yassar Askari, 'Introduction', *Sabra and Shatila*, by Abie Weisfeld, Ottawa, Jerusalem International Publishing House, Inc., 1984, p. ix.

⁶⁴ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, 1 'Kings', 9: 20-9: 21, p. 412.

Here we have an explicit mention of the conscious exclusion and subordination of nations other than the State-sanctioned nation, those 'others' becoming an underclass of slaves or workers serving the dominant class of the primary nation. Thus national exclusion becomes class segregation by virtue of the attributes imposed upon such an Order.

One nonetheless takes note of the inclusive attributes as well. The genocidal imperative is overcome and it is known that the Solomon court and its descendants were pluralist in terms of their national origin. Not only Solomon but Isaac as well formed his lineage with "Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel the Aramean [Syrian] of Paddam-aram, sister of Leban the Aramean".⁶⁵ Moses also was married with women of other nations, first with Adoniah, the Cushite Queen of Ethiopia, and then the second wife Zipporah, a Midian (currently Arab) whose father Reuel contributed to the formation of Moses' Judaic theology.

To further unravel the knot of intertwined tendencies; it is remarkable to note as well the lineage of the Patriarch. Since the Patriarchal Principle asserts the first-born male's right of priority in succession, in the case of Abraham and Ishmael, the exclusionist citations above contain a contradiction

⁶⁵ *The Torah, op cit.*, 'Genesis', 25:20, p. 43.

to the Patriarchal lineage of Ishmael as first-born. Evidently there are two lineages in evidence that fulfill the conditions of the original Covenant with

Abram, saying, 'To your offspring I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates: the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites'.⁶⁶

Noticing that the Covenant reads Abraham alone and not Sarah, this clearly point to the inclusive nature of the formulation. Whether it came to be written as an ambiguity later on is as irrelevant as the war-mongering to be found in books of later editions that do not represent the 'Law' in the formative Judaic tradition.

5.1.4 Summation

1) Acknowledging that liberty is only achieved on the basis of acknowledging the truth, it is apparent that any People must look outside of themselves to discover what is as real for others as it is for themselves. The false consciousness of ideological exclusiveness has led to the failure of all superpowers. In the insight that is essential to insight rests social identity

⁶⁶ *The Torah, op cit.*, 'Genesis', 15:18-21, p. 25.

together with a personal identity in the internal perspective of individualism common to all.

As technique is the means of operation for a method; language, like motion, and thought is a means of life. In a similar fashion to language, nationality is a means to the continuity of life.

In an opposing but similar sense, ideology is a means to dictatorship and authoritarianism. Its antithesis, permanent revolution, is the operation of a methodology formed as the living expression of auto-determination - the autonomous mode of existence. The means by which such transformations are brought about lie in the nature of that method's technique to create a sense of Independence.

A principle of Reciprocity is a facet in that method, since any action taken should be expected to create its synchro-actions, in reciprocity. Any action produces a reaction in its environment; both the socio-personal, and in the infinity of our environment. The possibilities that are available offer either engendering an action in response to ones efforts that parallel the intention of exclusive self-interest in reciprocity or, the intention of inclusive mutual interest, so creating the conditions for mutual aid in reciprocity. How we interpret this reciprocal principle of methodology is in our method, our language, our culture and the ability to accept and expect the same of others.

This is what determines how we learn to augment our consciousness exponentially by the dynamic of multiparty interactions.

As in any methodological impasse, the illusory antinomies of national conflict are subsumed by a breakthrough based in a fundamental realignment of conceptual identities. In such a process the Modern perspective is inverted reciprocally to reverse the direction of the hierarchical emission of authority, to annul the monopoly of power. A social entity is examined from within, in the context of the many parallel phenomena externally, rather than from an external ethnocentric and therefore alienated point of view. This extraneous void, absent of any other national context, is actually a competing national perspective, a self-perpetuating agency seeking to develop its singular economic base to better nourish itself as a parasite on its subjects as sacrifices, known as either slaves, citizens or soldiers. This is the game of hegemony that is played by aggressive State entities, whether Empires or, Nation-States. Karl Deutsch puts it well saying, "It leads to the loss of self-determination, nationalism at the end of its tether becomes a force for the destruction of the nation".⁶⁷

The other aspect to the existence of national entities is the nature of reciprocity in the expressions of auto-determination that reflect upon each

⁶⁷ Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication : An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, Cambridge & London, The M.I.T. Press, (1953) 1966, p. 184.

other while striving for their own liberation. In this meaning of the reciprocal conception it can be demonstrated that such a symmetrical reciprocity can be developed as a principle by corollary, in place of the principle of self-determination and in affirmation of the right to auto-determination as a means of mutual liberation.

To postulate a hypothesis one does not merely mean to accurately describe the current process of social organization but, rather, to project a conceptualization that can be derived out of the current state of affairs, and so contains its essential nature while resolving its contradictions. This act of conception itself is a reflection of the necessary and prior conditions to substantiate such a projection.

With the expectation that the world should become Inter-National/s - so that each may be assured of one's recognition - a nation, in reciprocity, should offer to live in such an Inter-National/s global society, so as to raise similar expectations among others. Likewise, with all other nationalities living in the same society; each may then be autonomous but associated in a common society. By example, if Canada, in the midst of its narcissistic self-conception, cannot recognize Québec/Kébèk₃₅ as encapsulating a Nation then Québec is obliged at least to recognize itself as such. In declaring its independence, Québec would be seeking political recognition, much as Canada is striving for its economic and political independence continentally. With mutual

recognition the necessary precondition is established for a possible federation of nations. However, Canada's nationalist political culture is currently oriented more so in asserting its dominance over Québec, to project its self-image as a State, than it is in insisting upon its independence with respect to the United States of America.

Consequently, the hegemonic influence of the singular identity is at the root of State centralization, in particular governments based in the dominance of the *One*; i.e. one nation, one State, one flag, one national capital, one religion or party – Monism. Together with the party political apparati (or pseudo-State formations), this replication of social war, named Parliament, was formed by States to rationalize its internal relations. A further critique of this aberration of social freedom could be elaborated. In this manner of social control, the dictatorial position by electoral majority became codified as democracy. Such liberal democracy provides for the opportunity of electing the 'Monarchy' in either the form of a personality or possibly a political party. Seemingly, other nations, in reciprocity, are obliged to do the same.

While 'peace, order and good government' may not be the immediate consequence of the world Fragmentation process, nonetheless the beauty of change may be gleaned from Heinrich Heine; "If you wish to strive for peace of soul and pleasure, then believe; if you wish to be a devotee of truth then enquire".⁶⁸

Reciprocity, meaning the respect of each national revolution for another, instills a dynamic of permanent revolution, of never-ending and continuous transformation in dynamic-equilibrium. Thus, permanent transformation implies reciprocity as a principle and vice versa.

The development of the basic analysis here follows from the combined deductions that arise in the course of the critique. Although there are direct interpolations to be made between phenomena arising out of the various nations, they cannot be considered sufficient in themselves to clarify the situation. It is the development of the various factors flowing into one another that form the dynamics overriding the operative tendencies in place, such as exclusivity and repression. In the endeavour to establish a dynamic reciprocal equilibrium between contending parties, such as with the Israeli and the Palestinian political cultures, it becomes necessary to identify and overcome the tendencies to reciprocal recrimination. Considering the excess of historical methodology in this matter, the exploitation of archeological evidence as

⁶⁸ Heinrich Heine, *The Montreal Gazette*, masthead quotation, 1992.

proofs, and the futility espoused by empiricism, a methodological critique based in a principle of reciprocity is appropriate. The vagueness involved in such a reciprocal abstraction is what needs to be overcome through its application, to any degree possible, that this example allows for in the context of this work.

By seeking to pass beyond the impasse of empirical 'faits accompli' in that situation, one is seeking, in effect, to build a methodology that is based on the dialectics involved -- by considering more than one culture at a time. The number of factors taking part in the resolution of any phenomenon is unlimited and so it is necessarily the dynamics and tendencies identified that are sought out of the infinite, so as to clarify the direction in which the discussion and process is being drawn. The result of such a process is itself used to build a further construction that leads to the methodology of resolution, utilizing the principle of reciprocity and recognizing the dynamic of inherent auto-determination amongst living social entities, together with their social mechanisms or organizations formed into Civil Society.

The similarities found here with the 'Theory of Permanent Revolution', a theory most commonly associated with the name of Leon Trotsky (Lev Bronstein)₃₆, are similarities that are neither coincidental nor generic, but flow from the discussion continuing from predecessors such as Proudhon, Bakunin, Engels, Marx and even Herder₃₇.

The motivation to seek a means for national security, by means other than the State, is based in the natural abhorrence of fascism and the awareness of the operative tendencies towards such a regression in political life. The relations engendered by the State do play a role in this discussion, developed in terms of the construction of a Society and its constitution, but only with the intent and the effort to maintain a national identity by means other than the type of security offered by an exclusive State apparatus and its political superstructure.

The Nation, in order to achieve independence, must abolish the State. This follows from the nature of the State; serving various Imperial interests and/or it serving to replicate colonial hierarchy through its perpetuation as a class imposed structure subordinating national minorities. This is not to say that only national minorities have comprised the proletariat, since actually 'the aristocracy of labour' does tend to be composed of the dominant nationality. Thus there is imposed a hierarchy of nationalities within each economic class which contest with one another as economic Orders. The recognition of these interrelations is crucial to the success of one class or another achieving a conjunctural advantage in its class contradictions, although it is the State bourgeoisie that has been more adept at manipulating the advantage out of the national divisions to be found amongst the working class/es.

An elaboration of the reciprocal methodology is currently limited amongst the Jewish People who are still subject to the alienation in consequence of their repression under Nazism and manipulation in the international Statist context as a Zionist State. The first three attempts to establish a sustainable Jewish national homeland in modern times arose by means of their associated ideologies - Czarism, Marxism and Zionism — have not succeeded, and have also led to an intensification of insecurity and the further national oppression of the Palestinian People, who are subjected to the 'Israel Defence Force'. One notes here the expulsion of 1948 (Al-Nhakba/Al-Nakba) by the Hagannah, Irgun and Stern militias. The attempts at territorialism however have been seen as well in the experiences of; the 'Pale of Settlement' in Czarist Russia (see illustration in note₃₈), and then Birobijan₃₉ in the U.S.S.R (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) of 1928, and only subsequently in the State of Israel of 1948. None have provided a viable refuge.

As has been the case with the ideological edifice of Marxism, any theory that concludes in a rejection of further theoretical change, proclaiming in essence an end of history, is actually an ideology rather than a methodology. In a manner similar to Marxism, Zionism operates as a utopian nationalist ideology oftentimes degenerating into dogma and pathology. Not surprisingly, this particular construction relies on a religious imperative, while proclaiming its secular modernity, in contradiction with its rationale. Although this critical

appraisal of the Zionist ideology leads to a pessimistic conclusion concerning the possible outcome of the conflict between the two Peoples involved, it may very well be that the contradictions of the Zionist political tendencies based on the impasse in effect could result in a re-evaluation of priorities by the Nation concerned.

However, there are non-exclusionary precedents in the Jewish national movement towards independence. A re-evaluation leads along the lines that recognizes the probable solution requires the dissolution of the State itself in favour of co-existence, as indicated by the particular Zionist writer, Mahler;

both of the peoples living in this country - the Jews and the Arabs - have an historical attachment to the Land of Israel which is their homeland. Comprehension of this truth by both sides is a fundamental condition for the solution of the present conflict and the peaceful co-existence of two neighboring peoples in the same country.⁶⁹

Indications are, though, that the impetus for change rests upon the resilience and sophistication of the Palestinian uprising, the international pressures for re-stabilization, together with the internal rebellion of the Israeli Jewish population as well as the Jewish People as a whole.

⁶⁹ R. Mahler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

2) If the Abrahamic period saw the founding of two Peoples, it was the Mosaic period which brought about the emergence of the Jewish Nation. The Mosaic Nation of former slaves became transformed into a caste, an economic Order. And an economic order it has stayed, due to its submission by empire and State, except for the development of semi-independent colonials, with some similarity to the Boar Nation of South Africa or the Scottish Protestant Irish of Northern Ireland. Weizmann, the first President of Israel exemplifies the colonial mentality by choosing to identify with the European 'white' settlers in South Africa, as well as the British settlers in Canada.⁷⁰₄₀ This sadly has remained the current degree of political socialization for the Jewish political culture, even while an internal transformation takes shape in the opposition to militarism.

⁷⁰ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

3) The historical narrative of Jewish Antiquity follows the paradigm changes listed here following:⁷¹₄₁

⁷¹ David Rosenberg & Bloom, Harold, *The Book of J*, New York, Grove Weidenfeld, 1990.

V.1 Table of Judaic History

B.C.E.

2000	Hebrews / Habiru	
1800 - 1700	Abram ben Terah (Terach)	of Uru / Ur / Harran region (Aramaen)
1304 - 1237	Pharaoh Ramses II	enslavement
1220	Pharaoh Merneptah	enslavement
1280	The Exodus	
961 - 922	Empire of Solomon	
950 - 900	<i>The Book of J</i>	J = YAHWist Pentateuch: Genesis Exodus Numbers
850 - 800	(E)zra revision of J	
587 - 558	Fall of Jerusalem:	The Babylonian Exile <i>The Talmud</i> written.
550 - 500	<i>The P text</i>	Priestly Author or School writing Leviticus (introduction of Abraham 'father of a host of nations')
538	The Return	
400	'The Redactor' (JEPD)	Deuteronomy written in letter-chain indicated and

V-66, 500

'Septuagint'₄₂

final revision.

translation of *Torah* into
Greek by the Alexandrian
Jewish community.

5.2 The Inter/Intra-Societal Project

5.2.1 Civil Society

Any specific social question is fundamental to all other social issues, "This paradoxical concept is concerned with the ancient idea that just as the whole contains the part, the part also contains the whole"⁷² (as it was proposed by Hegel - see Chapter I). Another manner of expressing this concept of reciprocal independence, is the nature of the microcosm as inherent in the macrocosm. As such, the relations between the external context and internal image of a society reflect upon each other and are intimately linked. The same axiom of independence operates between nations, whether a nation is internal to a common society or external to it; even if such a society is independent. Thus the nature of the specific identity of Jewishness contains the treatment of all identities, in so far as any other identity also contains the attributes of the Jewish identity and vice versa, in reciprocity, as in the Palestinian case.

The cradle of revolution is national identity. Revolution is a term that by definition is undefinable in any terms that are historically endurable, for if such a definition is presented as an idea complete in itself, it is necessarily

⁷² Paul Z. Hartal, *The Brush and the Compass : The Interface Dynamics of Art and Science*, University Press of America, Inc., 1988, p. xi.

ahistorical. Thus revolution need not be limited to any particular model or period, to be disputed by a competing model. However, one can say at least that the national character of each revolution reflects the distinct character of each society, with its different priorities and ways of thinking, thus giving rise to the social revolution. All the same, revolutionary waves in different social formations are related by cultural similarities (Pan-Africanism/Pan-Arabism, Feminism), because the dynamic towards globalization is fundamentally rooted in the concept of Inter-National/s (the relations amongst the Nations).

To consider the nature of the reality of the Inter-National/s dynamic, one would have to consider the general consciousness which exists currently, rather than particular organizational forms. Such forms already exist embryonically, such as the Conference of San Paulo Alignment, the various coordinating bodies of the United Nations Organization (eg. UNESCO), and their affiliated Non-Governmental Organizations. The Global transformation underway consists more profoundly in the revolutions being generated as the prevailing State institutions come into contradiction with the social forces and their movements, in particular the national movements of liberation. In effect, two conflicting realities are contesting for the future of global relations; the Inter-National/s and the Statist. The dynamic of globalization should thus be recognized as not only an economic phenomenon but also the social dynamic that follows the migration patterns of human history.

That which is often considered to be a revolution is a mechanism towards a revolution and not a revolution in itself, which actually deals with the independence and liberty of various social identities, i.e. Peoples, classes, individuality, gender, age generations and other social groupings. It is a matter of consciousness rather than bullets that marks the difference between revolution and war.

In its essentials, it is the collective conscious which remains the basis for national consciousness - finding its expression as a national identity. Such is the primary means by which large numbers of people communicate; that is, language/s, cultural history/religion, and their arts (as in the collective-national will referred to by Gramsci). All these cultural attributes then become the primary means for the exercise of consciousness and collective thought - the minds' talent as reflected in the thoughts of large numbers of people. As such, the degradation or trivialization of such a cultural consciousness amounts to the oppression of that People in violation of basic human rights.

While the national concept parallels class consciousness in grandeur and profundity, class consciousness is in any case itself posited for self-destruction according to the classical theorist in the matter, so leaving national consciousness as the determinant factor in social development. Naturally one manner of ameliorating the social consciousness would be through the elaboration of reciprocal national consciousness in an inter/intra-national

context. The interfacing with more extensive and varied social groupings constitutes a developmental process both internally and externally for the national entity. The direction being taken then during historical development is towards ever larger groupings in a harmonious interaction, expanding without limit, boundless, and permanent - a continuous surpassing of limitations in federated reciprocity. It could be put as a Revolution towards Liberation, such a dynamic operating without the assimilation or homogenization of culture to a particular ideology. One such social experiment is the methodology found in a theory of political organization of Society and of the Nation by means of the 'Jamahiriya', the Arabic concept and term for a collectivized independent society. Another is the *HAUDENOSAUNEE*, the social pact or Constitution of the Five Nations Confederacy (The People of the Long House : Iroquois) , previously referred to and included in Appendix B and I.

5.2.1.1 Civil Liberties and Universality

The essential twist to the Catholic Inquisition proclamation on the Jewish People, the 'Sentencia Estatuto' (statute of exclusion) June 6, 1449 against all Jewish people, whether converted or not;⁷³ signified the recognition of the Jewish People, as a Nation. Ferdinand and Isabelle, as in the role of the modern Prince of Niccolò Machiavelli, seeking to perpetuate their power, took the concept of the Nation-State to its logical conclusion.

Hegel refers to the civil liberties of adherents of the Jewish religion sympathetically while constructing his notion of a homogeneous State.⁷⁴ However, 'the Jews' are treated to a hierarchy related to his conception of civilization, which is still current in the Occident. One may conclude that while the enlightenment rose above the exclusion of the Jewish population, it nonetheless excluded the notion of the Jewish Nation.

Universality as a concept and means of modern emancipation is a limited item, if one considers the context in which it is implemented. Simon Dubnow disputes such limitation and counterpoises 'universalism' to 'cosmopolitanism'.⁷⁵ Hannah Arendt sees "This perversion of equality from a

⁷³ Erna Paris, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁷⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 127.

political into a social concept is all the more dangerous when a society leaves but little space for special groups and individuals [...]".⁷⁶ Edward Said treats 'universalism' as well in his *Culture and Imperialism*.⁷⁷ The coming into being of bourgeois European countries coincided with the notion that the State, with its institutions and instruments of governance, was a reflection and embodiment of a single nation or People, thus giving rise to the notion of the Nation-State. In reality, however, most State formations were in fact poly-national, with its institutions and government a reflection of the dominant nation within them, be it the numerically superior or materially advantaged nation. This context rendered the nation-state a feature of culturism by which universal rights of citizenship are granted to individual members of a given nation without distinction as to class or gender (in latter times) but not necessarily with respect to nationality.

The 1789 revolution, although based on various emancipatory principles, did not extend to the Jewish inhabitants of France until September 28, 1791 when the Jewish people of France were first allowed to become citizens, although with limited civil rights. As one liberal deputy, Count Clermont Tonnerre asserted, "To the individual Jew everything, to the Jews

⁷⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Cleveland & New York, Meridan Books, The world Publishing Company, 1964, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage Books, 1994, p. 229.

as a nation nothing"! ⁷⁸ The Jewish people of France did not achieve their full individual civil rights until the Napoleonic reforms, when on July 26, 1806 European Jewish leaders met with Napoleon and upon satisfying his Universalist criteria received the announcement; "His Majesty guaranteed to you the free practice of your religion and the full enjoyment of your political rights", ⁷⁹ without collective rights and granted for opportunistic reasons in the consolidation of the Napoleonic Empire.

[...] during the Napoleonic period (1807), their representatives declared, in the Grand Sanhedrin in Paris, that 'from now on the Jews are no longer a nation since the honor had been bestowed on them to become part of the great [French] nation and they see in this their full political liberation.' * In the other western countries the Jews achieved their emancipation likewise through open renunciation of their nationality or by silently consenting to its loss. ^{80*}₄₃

When the revolutionary wave from France reached Lower Canada, similarly, Louis-Joseph Papineau introduced in the Lower Canada National Assembly an *Act On Equal Rights For the Jewish People*, March 16, 1831, passed March 31, 1831, with Royal assent granted the 12th of April 1832. ⁸¹

⁷⁸ Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*, New York, Exposition Press, 1965, p. 295.

⁷⁹ Menuhin, *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁸⁰ Simon Dubnow, *Nationalism and History : Essays on Old and New Judaism*, Cleveland & New York, Meridian Books, The World Publishing Co., Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961, pp. 111-112.

⁸¹ S.B. Ryerson, *French Canada : A Study in Canadian Democracy*, Toronto, Progress Books, (1943) 1944, Appendices, p. 237.

The individualist equality of Universalism acts almost as a Trojan horse in that it is presumed to realize the homogenization of the society in the construction of a mono-national political-culture. This programme of assimilation⁸² is taken as an end in itself. Heinrich von Treitschke made it clear that,

The finer spirits among the German Jews had long recognised that members of their race could not claim civic equality unless they were prepared to abandon a separatist position and to participate unreservedly in German life.⁸³

Attempts to secure any form of collective rights in the context of equal civil rights are vigorously opposed as divisive. As Hannah Arendt notes; “the breakdown of the feudal order [gave] rise to the new revolutionary concept of equality, according to which a ‘nation within a nation’ could no longer be tolerated”.⁸⁴ For example, Johann Gottlieb Fichte accused the Jewish people of being “ ‘a state within a state’ ”⁸⁵, and Martin Luther proposed that,

⁸² Gilad Atzmon, ‘Zionism and other Marginal Thoughts’, *Gilad Atzmon*, On-line, < <http://www.gilad.co.uk/html%20files/ziomargin.html> >, January 20, 2005.

⁸³ H. von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, The University of Chicago Press, 1975, p. 253.

⁸⁴ Erna Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁸⁵ Erna Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

The Jews are lords of the world and all the gentiles flock to them [...] while the Jews curse, spit on and malign the Germans. [...] They say that G~d [will] kill and exterminate all of us Germans through their messiah, so that they can lay claim on the land, the goods, and the government of the whole world. [...]

"We are at fault in not avenging all this innocent blood of our Lord [...] and the blood of the children which they have shed since then, and which still shines forth from their Jewish eyes and skin. We are at fault in not slaying them." ⁸⁶₄₅

Thus, the recognition of the Jewish national identity is only propagated in order to argue for its exclusion, or worse.

Fitting into a pattern, one finds as well that attempted legislation of Jewish civil liberties arose during the period of the English revolution. While having been expelled in 1290, perhaps the first European expulsion of the Jewish People at a time when there were only a few hundred Jewish residents in England,⁸⁷ we are told in a review of the book by James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* that,

Twice in the period he discusses, in 1656 and in 1753, the English Parliament considered specific Jewish legislation - the first time, a bill to revoke the expulsion of 1290 and legally readmit Jews to the British Isles and the second time, the Jewish Naturalization Act or 'Jew Bill', as it was commonly called, which proposed to give Jews the civic and religious rights granted to Christians. Both measures were highly controversial, the second so much so that it was first

⁸⁶ Erna Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁸⁷ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-7.

passed by a narrow vote and then repealed six months later. In an attempt to combat bitter Tory opposition to it, in fact, Whig government temporarily banned productions of *The Merchant of Venice*, a play it feared would whip up anti-Jewish feeling.⁸⁸₄₆

While the presence of individual Jews was to be tolerated, the recognition of any such collective entity as a Jewish People was not even taken into consideration.

The accumulation of such common experiences in various contexts has led to the consensual conclusion in the Jewish political culture that corresponds to Erna Paris's conclusion, flowing from her work on the Spanish Inquisition, that the limitations of civil liberties are evident as,

the true intent of emancipation is absorption at every level. [...] Equality was interpreted to mean homogeneity, and when homogeneity proved impossible, disillusionment led to rejection.⁸⁹

The explicitness of Universality as a Principle is evident by the interpretation given to it by Hegel when he equates the Civil Society to the State, which in turn is "held in check by the power of universality".⁹⁰ This conception of Universality is inherent in Hegel's entire perspective, as indicated by his

⁸⁸ Hillel Halkin, 'Operation Shylock : Shakespeare's Jewish Problem', *Forward*, 15/01/96, Vol. LXXXXVIII, No. 31061, pp. 1, 9.

⁸⁹ Erna Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 275.

⁹⁰ Hegel, *op. cit.*, #183, p. 123.

particular formulation of the philosophical idiom; "it is the general rule that the particular is contained in the universal",⁹¹ and forever shall it remain buried therein even though the universal is also known to be contained in the particular.

The expectation, that the equality of opportunity provided for by the market economy would serve to guide the absorption of minoritarian nationalities into the bounds of the Nation-State, was a false premise in the universalist Liberal ideology.⁴⁷ Likewise this is the norm in the Marxist radical-liberal school of proletarian Universality. Considering that the international working-class does not recognize itself as such, neither of these ideological criterion actually provides a universal foundation and consequently, their ideologies should not be considered universal, as claimed. It would seem that the methodology of an Ideological perception is integral to the shared objective of a State superstructure so as to limit the bounds of perception. The flaw of ideological systems is the perception of a self-defined Universality. It would seem some concept had to substitute for the lost Deity; whether it be, State, Class, Church, le foi, spirituality, Time/Progress, the Bomb, the Invisible Hand of the Market, the Holy Ghost, or any other such idol.

⁹¹ Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

5.2.1.2 Society Differentiated from State

Following from the deconstruction of national consciousness into inclusive national-identity and exclusive nationalism, one finds that these parallel but contradictory manifestations are evident in the nature of society expressed in the contradiction of the pluralist societal tendencies as opposed to exclusive Statism.⁴⁸

Ce qui différencie les sociétés sans État des sociétés à État, c'est que dans les premières le pouvoir est exercé par l'ensemble du corps social alors que dans les secondes le pouvoir s'est extrait du corps social pour s'installer dans le blockhaus d'une institution spécialisée dans l'exercice monopolistique du pouvoir.⁹²₄₉

A commentary from the actual struggles of the inter-war period serves to illustrate the differentiation; Bronstein comments on Ukrainian independence⁵⁰ illustrate the range of expressions of national-identity, from voluntary federation to independence, all of which include the recognition of its identity,

The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score.

But the independence of a United Ukraine would mean the separation of Soviet Ukraine from the USSR, the 'friends' of the

⁹² Jean-Marc Raynaud, 'De la destruction de l'état aux conditions de son dépérissement', pp. 59-77, *Etat, Politique, Anarchie*, Atelier de Création Libertaire, Lyon, 1993, p. 66.

Kremlin will exclaim in chorus. What is so terrible about that? - we reply. The fervid worship of state boundaries is alien to us. We do not hold the position of a 'united and indivisible' whole. After all, even the constitution of the USSR acknowledges the right of its component federated peoples to self-determination, that is, separation.⁹³

It is possible to conclude from the case of the poly-national Ukraine – which has finally achieved a certain independence - that not only the Nation but a Society itself exists without the necessity of the State, patiently waiting in this case for its opportunity to flower into independence.

As an example of the Jewish national-identity expressing itself politically, the elections to the Ukrainian Jewish National Assembly in 1918 produced an array of parties professing independence, autonomy and national identity,⁹⁴ illustrating the vibrant political culture expressed in civil society, representing a nation within a nation within a State;

⁹³ Leon Trotsky, 'The Ukrainian Question', pp. 301-307, April 22, 1939, *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1938-39]*, New York, Pathfinder Press, inc., 1974, p. 305.

⁹⁴ Joseph Nedava, *Trotsky and The Jews*, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5732 / 1972, p. 155.

V.2 Ukranian Jewish National Assembly of 1918

Party	Percentage of votes	Number of Delegates
Zionists	33.6	42
Bund ₅₁	18.4	23
Ahdut (Religious Party)	15.2	19
Fareinigte Sotsial-Partai (The United Social Party)	9.6	12
Poale - Zion (Worker - Zionists)	8.8	11
Volks Partai (People's Party)	3.2	4
	100	125

During the Russian provisional government phase a Rada (Ukranian parliament) negotiated autonomy with "special guarantees for the Polish, Jewish and other nationalities residing within the Ukranian borders".⁹⁵ Thus

⁹⁵ Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1975, Vol. I, p. 419.

national autonomy was granted to the Jewish community establishing a special Secretariat for Jewish Affairs. While autonomy was dissolved during the German State's occupation, a Directory formed at the end of 1918, reinstated Jewish autonomy with a Minister of Jewish Affairs until the White Army's return in 1919.

Additionally, during the December 1938 and January 1939 municipal elections of Poland,

In the Jewish districts the Bund devastated the Zionists and received 70 per cent of the vote, which gave them 17 of the 20 Jewish seats in Warsaw with the Zionists holding only one seat.⁹⁶

Such expressions of a non-Statist identity have been largely incorporated in the World Jewish Congress (WJC) together with its affiliated State-bound institutions (CJC, AJC,...) along the lines projected by Dubnow and expressed by the associated political formation, the People's Party.

The possibility for a particular independent civil society existing without (or outside) of a State framework is illustrated to a greater degree in the Ukraine. The prospect of an independent Society without a State was previewed when Nestor Makhno became,

⁹⁶ Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, Chicago, Lawrence Hill Books, 1983, p. 194, see Bernard Johnpoll, *The Politics of Futility*, p. 224; and Edward Wynot, *Polish Politics in Transition*, pp. 234-5.

le fondateur et le président de la première république anarcho-soviétique dans le monde, crée en Ukraine du Sud et appelée République d'Azov et de la Mer Noire (Azovo-Tchernomorskaïa). Par sa superficie englobant cinq provinces actuelles: Zaporozskaja, Dnepropetrovskaja, Zdanovskiaja, Khersonskaja, Nikolaevskaja) et par le nombre de ses habitants (environ quinze millions de personnes), cette république dépassait bon nombre d'Etats d'aujourd'hui.⁹⁷

The presence of an operating independent civil society then confirms in practice the prospect of its independence and feasibility as a non-Statist social phenomenon.⁵² As Hannah Arendt puts it, "the split between the state and society upon which the body politic of the nation rested".⁹⁸

5.2.1.3 National-Cultural Autonomy

The Golden Age in Moorish Spain is known for its pluralistic political culture, in practice defined by the concept of national-cultural autonomy, or a Jewish civil society;

⁹⁷ V. Litvinov, *Nestor Makhno et La Question Juive* (Samizdat), Volonté Anarchiste, Collection de Formation Anarchiste, Groupe Fresnes-Antony, Federation Anarchiste 24, (1982) 1984, p. 10.

⁹⁸ Hannah Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Historically, the Jews had the right to self-government, the right to collect their community taxes, and the right to run their own criminal courts [...]⁹⁹

During the period of the French Revolution a Jewish political/Juridical body arose called the 'Sanhedrin' that was constituted as an assembly of the Jewish People in France. It is contended by the Zionist-Marxist writer Raphael Mahler, that such a body was formed in the belief that it was "aimed at restoring former Jewish glory"¹⁰⁰ and that from his perspective the trends towards Jewish autonomy as outlined by Dubnov were historically outdated.¹⁰¹ Simon Dubnow conceived of an tendency for national existence to develop from tribal to political-territorial and producing a cultural-historical or 'spiritual' consciousness. This last factor being the term considered as the enduring factor which determines the perpetuation of that national culture. Rather than trivializing the national identity of non-Statist formations as 'tribalism', Dubnow places such epochs in context. The commentator Leon Shapiro in his introductory essay refers to his definition;

A living nation, he said, is a '[...] group which, independently of the fact of having conserved or lost (partly or totally) its exterior attributes – racial types, territory, state, and language – nevertheless,

⁹⁹ Erna Paris, *The End of Days*, Toronto, Lester Publishing, 1995, p. 240.

¹⁰⁰ Raphael Mahler, *The Land of Israel and The Jewish People*, Tel-Aviv, Israel Peace Research Society, 1974, p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Mahler, see *Ibid.*, p. 2.

as a result of all its past collective original evolution, is conscious of and acknowledges its existence as a nation...' He accordingly emphasized that ' [...] national self-awareness is the principal criterion of its [the nation's] existence.' It might be interesting to compare this conception with Durkheim's insistence on the importance of the 'way in which the group conceives itself,' as well as with Renan's definition, i.e. ' [...] the existence of a nation is a daily plebiscite.' ¹⁰²₅₃

Dubnow proposed a subjective factor of national consciousness rather than the materialist criteria of state and territory which remained the method utilized by the Marxist school.

National identity being the cradle of revolution, the actual expression of Jewish national-cultural autonomy was put into motion by the Russian revolution's dynamic when,

Jewish National Autonomy arose out of the background of the democratic revolution in the spring of 1917 in Russia. The slogan of Jewish National Autonomy changed from an abstract programmatic theme to a live, concrete desire of every Jewish national party for direct mutual interdependence. At the start of the national revolutions, at the time of victory of the democratic revolution, all of the nations of the Russian empire freed themselves from a long bondage and by their own efforts began to establish their own way of life. The national freedom of the Jewish minority, born simultaneously with the national freedoms of the nations, among which Jewish minorities had lived for many generations, shared the

¹⁰² Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I p. xx.

bitter fate of their national revolutionary achievements.¹⁰³ [...] When, under attack by enemy forces, the Ukrainian independent Republic fell at the end of 1920, it also meant the downfall of Jewish National Autonomy. It was then that Soviet totalitarianism choked off all sprouts of any free national Jewish cultural way of life, suggesting to the Jewish nation, as well as to other nations of USSR, the possibility of a union in a so-called 'socialist' nation, with the Russian language as the common denominator.¹⁰⁴ [...] Besides Ukraine, there were three other new states which had separated from Russia, in which the Jewish minority was assured certain autonomous rights, insofar as certain competences of general state institutions were transferred to the proper Jewish ones on the principle of self-rule. All three states, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, recognized the principle of autonomy in the superintendence of internal national Jewish matters.¹⁰⁵

The form which this autonomy took was in the process of being determined in the Ukraine at the time of the summoning of a Jewish Constituent Assembly, and with the convening of a Provisional National Assembly with a National Secretariat. Subsequently it was Otto Bauer who codified this experience for the Social-Democratic Second International in his work *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1924). The Austrian Project, as this perspective was named, conceived that each nation would be "treated not as a territorial corporation but as a union of individuals".¹⁰⁶₅₄

¹⁰³ Goldelman, *Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine 1917-1920*, Chicago, Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, 1968, p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ Goldelman, *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Goldelman, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ Nedava, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 248.

These projects were inspired by the Bundist resolution of its fourth conference, held in Bialystok in May 1901;

The Conference declares that according to the spirit of Social Democracy, national oppression and domination of one language over another is as abhorrent as class or political oppression. The Conference is of the opinion that such a multi-national State as Russia must be re-constituted as a federation of nations with full autonomy of each one of them, irrespective of territorial limits. The Conference further declares that the conception 'Nation' [Nationalitaet] is applicable also to the Jewish people.¹⁰⁷₅₅

Autonomy as contained here survived as a concept if not a practice. The Yiddish name for autonomy Kehillah/Kehila as an autonomous community was the practice prior to the policy of assimilation invoked by the Bolshevik State although room was made within the Communist Party for a Jewish administration, used primarily to limit Jewish cultural and spiritual expression in the society at large. This 'elan vital' or will to survive remains as the root of Jewish identity. Currently this concept of autonomy finds its manifestation in the World Jewish Congress and its Statist affiliates. During the 1905 revolution in the Russian empire there was formed The League for the Attainment of Equal Rights for the Jewish People in Russia which in its November 22-25 convention defined national-cultural autonomy as such,

¹⁰⁷ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

In the interest of realizing to their full extent the civil, political, and national rights of the Jewish nationality in Russia, the Convention resolves as follows;

To proceed without delay to call, on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, without discrimination of sex, and by direct secret vote, an all-Russian Jewish National Assembly in order to establish, in accordance with the will of the entire Jewish population, the forms and principles of its national self-determination as well as the foundations of its internal organization.¹⁰⁸

Jewish emancipation in revolutionary Russia achieved collective national rights during the brief period of the Provisional Government. In April, 1917, the first legal Congress of the Jewish Socialist Bund with 83 delegates took place.¹⁰⁹ In June, 1918, the All-Russian Congress of Jewish Communities representing 39 local Kehillah convened in Moscow even though by midsummer 1919, the Jewish communal organization was abolished.¹¹⁰

A definition of autonomy is provided among the articles of the *Draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples as adopted by the working group on indigenous population* of the International Labour Organization (1993) stating;

¹⁰⁸ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. III, p. 133.

¹⁰⁹ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 417.

¹¹⁰ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 419.

Article 31

Indigenous peoples, as a specific form of exercising their rights to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, including [...] culture, religion, education, [...] as well as ways and means for financing these autonomous functions;

Article 38

Indigenous peoples have the right to have access to adequate financial and technical assistance, from States, and through international cooperation, to pursue freely their political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development, and for the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized in this Declaration.¹¹¹₅₆

The influence of the national-autonomy movement came to bear on the West-European Jewish communities in spite of their propensity to assimilation into the homogenous State.₅₇

During the inter-war period in Europe, the brief flowering of culture especially in the 1920's was a very significant time for the Jewish experience;

What also came crashing down during these years was the elaborate system of minority treaties whereby the Allies had vainly hoped to solve a problem that, within the political framework of the nation-state, is insoluble. The Jews were an officially recognized minority in all Successor States, and this status had not been forced

¹¹¹ Marie Battiste, *Aboriginal Epistemology and Ways of Knowing*, Associate Professor, Indian and Northern Education Program, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, June 14, 1993, Calgary, Alberta, Learned's Societies, Society for Socialist Studies, p. 14.

upon them but had been the outcome of claims entered and negotiations conducted by their own delegates to the Versailles Peace Conference. This had marked an important turning point in Jewish history, because it was the first time that Western, or assimilated, Jews had not been recognized as the spokesmen for the whole Jewish people. To the surprise, and also sometimes to the dismay, of the Western-educated Jewish 'notables' it had turned out that the large majority of the people desired some sort of social and cultural, though not political, autonomy. Legally, the status of the Eastern European Jews was just like that of any other minority, but politically - and this was to be decisive - they were the only ethnic group in the region without a 'homeland', that is, without a territory in which they formed; the majority of the population. Still, they did not live in the same kind of dispersion as their brethren in Western and Central Europe, and whereas there, prior to Hitler, it had been a sign of anti-Semitism to call a Jew a Jew, Eastern European Jews were recognized by friend and foe alike as a distinct people. This was of great consequence for the status of those Jews in the East who were assimilated, making it utterly different from that in the West, where assimilation in one form or another had been the rule. The great body of middle-class Jews, so characteristic of Western and Central Europe, did not exist in the East; in its stead we find a thin layer of upper-middle-class families who actually belonged to the ruling classes and the degree of whose assimilation - through money, through baptism, through inter-marriage - to Gentile society was infinitely greater than that of most Jews in the West.¹¹²

Further examples of Jewish national-autonomy are; M. Dragomanov's free union of peoples (1880's) which provided for autonomy to Jewish cities (Odessa), and the Jewish Socialist Workers Party (SERP) programme for multiple nationality states reorganized into federations of free nations ruled by

¹¹² Hannah Arendt, *EICHMANN in Jerusalem : A Report on the Banality of Evil*, New York, Penguin Books, 1983, pp. 182-183.

representatives of different nationalities in autonomous national parliaments i.e. The 'Kehillah'/'Knesset' (Jewish parliament/Assembly)¹¹³. Many other examples are to be found in the Encyclopaedia Judaica.

5.2.2 Territorialism

The territorialist tendencies operating in the course of Jewish history which have fed into the Zionist movement and other historical precedents are based in the general desire for 'A Land of Our (One's) Own'. It has been pointed out that National Assemblies were carried out during the migration from Egypt prior to the entry into Cana'an.

The exclusive orientation to Jerusalem and Zion as a national perspective (Zionism) is more a function of ideology than history. The choice of Zion was not even the initial orientation of the broader Zionist movement itself, Central East Africa was the first stated objective in collaboration with Chamberlain. This reflected the territorialist current of the Zionist movement founded by Leo Pinsker (1821-1891)₅₈ and carried forward by Israel Zangwill. In the Russian context among others (Cromwell and Napoleon), Zionism was not the original idea of the Zionist movement's founding fathers. The Liberal

¹¹³ Ber Borochov, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle : A Marxian Approach to The Jewish Problem*, Westport, Conn., Greedwood Press, 1973, p. 31.

revolutionary Pestel and Gregory Peretz of the Decembrists, harbouring anti-Jewish sentiments to one degree or another, proposed, in his words, “in assisting the Jews to form a separate commonwealth of their own in some portion of Asia Minor’ ”.¹¹⁴ This was to be named ‘Izrailia’⁵⁹. By 1892 Baron Hirsch founded the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), a project oriented to Argentina and ratified by the Tzar.¹¹⁵

Ahad Ha’am’s followers founded the Lovers of Zion (‘Hobebe Zion’) in 1890 in the sense of spiritual Zionism of a non-statist variety. In reference to the Zionist colonization in general he is cited by Hans Kohn,⁶⁰

Yet what do our brethren do in Palestine? Just the very opposite! Serfs they were in the lands of the Diaspora and suddenly they find themselves in freedom, and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause [...].¹¹⁶

Herzl,⁶¹ Nordau and the Sixth Zionist Congress (1903)¹¹⁷ led to the State rationale, to Jerusalem where the Kingdom of Solomon had reigned, although

¹¹⁴ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. I, p. 412.

¹¹⁵ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *History*, Vol. II, Chapter xxx.

¹¹⁶ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p.64.

¹¹⁷ Abdelwahab M. Elmessiri, *The Land of Promise : A Critique of Political Zionism*, New Brunswick, NJ, North American, 1977, pp. 8-9.

Herzl refused the designation and rationale of restorationism,¹¹⁸ affirming his conception of a modern nation-state. There is much to contemplate in Herzl's conception of the State. The Zionist State is presented as being differentiated from the Land and Jewish Civil Society itself; "The collectivity of the citizens should be seen as the 'dominus negotiorum' and the government as the 'gestor' ['negotiorum gestio']"¹¹⁹ as he puts the matter, according to Justinian's *Institutes* (Book 3, title 27).¹²⁰ Herzl makes a stark separation between the two, as it should be; "a state is not constituted of pieces of land; rather, a group of people gathered under a sovereignty make up a state"¹²¹ as in the Leninist Party or the Vatican configuration. Nonetheless his conception of the State was so removed from the body politic of Jewish civil society that he went so far as to oppose the two,

¹¹⁸ Theodor Herzl, *The Jews' State : A Critical English Translation*, translated and with an introduction by Henk Overberg, Northvale N.J., Jerusalem, Jason Aronson inc., 1997, pp. 197, 147.

¹¹⁹ Herzl, *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹²⁰ Herzl, *Ibid.*, Glossary, 'Gestor', pp. 220-222.

¹²¹ Herzl, *Ibid.*, p. 188.

This publication [*Der Judenstadt*] will put the question of emigration of Jews on the general agenda. Yet that does not mean that we will have a referendum, as then the matter would be a lost cause from the start. If you do not want to join us, you can stay put. The objections of a few do not matter.¹²²

The admission that Jewish political culture did not accept the Zionist conception of the State is evident even though he contradicts himself by claiming only a few would be left behind.

As late as 1948 there were "between 100,000 and 114,000 displaced Jews in the American Zone of Germany. From among that group, more than 55,000 applications for emigration to the United States had been filed by the fall of 1947; and a majority of these people specified a preference of going anywhere but Palestine". About this time, Rabbi Klausner, a U.S. Army rabbi, gave a report about the Jews in the DP camps to "the Zionist-controlled American Jewish Conference" in which he stated;

"I am convinced that the people must be forced to go to Palestine...By 'force' I suggest a program...The first step in such a program...is the adoption of the principle that it is the conviction of the world Jewish community that these people must go to Palestine...Those who are not interested are no longer to be wards of the Jewish community to be maintained in camps, fed and clothed without their having to make any contribution to their own subsistence. To effect this program, it becomes necessary for the Jewish community at large to reverse its policy and instead of creating comforts for

¹²² Herzl, *Ibid.*, p. 147.

the Displaced Persons to make them as uncomfortable as possible.” [15]¹²³₆₂

The present circumstances demonstrate that a majority of the Jewish People still maintain their distance from the Statist proposal of Herzl by residing in countries other than the State of Israel.

Max Nordau (originally Simon Maximilien Sudfeld) defines nationalism in his exclusivist terms leading to the nation-state conception, « Notre manière d'égoïsme, car en eux nous nous aimons nous-mêmes ».¹²⁴ Such a conception translates into racialism in the following;

J'entends l'oeuvre de civilisation, non le travail de conquête;
nous avons l'intention de venir en Palestine comme les porte-
drapeaux de la civilisation, afin de reculer les limites morales de
l'Europe jusqu'au delà de l'Euphrate.¹²⁵₆₃

This affinity to colonialism and the English Empire in particular leads Nordau to underline that, « Pour l'anglais croyant, le sionisme signifie le retour du Peuple Elu à la Terre promise [...] », ¹²⁶ unlike the secularism announced by

¹²³ John Spritzler, 'Should people opposed to bigotry and anti-Semitism support Israel?', Jan 26, 2005, 10:05, *Axis of Logic*, Critical Analysis, On-line, < http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/article_15281.shtml >, Consulted 2005.

¹²⁴ Max Nordau, *Écrits Sionistes*, Paris, Librairie Lipschutz, 1936, p. 171.

¹²⁵ Nordau, *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹²⁶ Nordau, *Ibid.*, p. 270.

Herzl as his rationale. By a linear derivation in formal logic Nordau concludes that since,

En Palestine nous sommes un contre neuf ou dix Arabes. En cas de plébiscite nous ne serions nulle part en majorité. [...]

Il n'y a pas beaucoup, il n'y a pas deux, il n'ya qu'un seul moyen pour surmonter cette difficulté : nous devons par tous les moyens, avec la rapidité la plus extrême, arriver à égaler en nombre les fellahs de Palestine, si possible les dépasser de si peu que ce soit pour commencer.¹²⁷₆₄

In a number of varying characteristics the Zionist movement went beyond the attribute of territorialism itself to become a theocratic (both Judaic and Protestant-Christian), settler-colonialist, militarist and consequently Statist project apart from the territorialist objective. Martin Luther proposed; “[...] let them head for Jerusalem build temples, set up priesthoods [...] take the land into their possession. For when this happens, they will see us come quickly on their heels and likewise become Jews [...]”⁶⁵

In the work *Autoemancipation* of 1881 by Leo Pinsker, which preceded Herzl's publication, Pinsker cautioned that,

¹²⁷ Nordau, *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 308.

We must above all, not dream of restoring ancient Judaea. We must not attach ourselves to the place where our political life was once violently interrupted and destroyed. The goal of our present endeavors must not be the 'Holy Land,' but a land of our own.¹²⁸

Although Pinsker is acknowledged by Herzl and Nordau as their historical predecessor, this quote alone would seem to explain why this work has not yet been translated into languages other than Hebrew.⁶⁶ The similarity of formulation with the territorialist writer Israel Zangwill is notable, as such territorialism is often confused with Statist Zionism. Another founder of the modern Jewish national movement Ahad Ha'am adopted the framework which he translated from Pinsker;

In the end we must have some special piece of land allotted to us, even if it is not our Fatherland [...] We must not strive for our Holy Land, but to our own land. We do not demand from anyone except a stretch of land big enough for our poor brethren, a land which will be ours. [...] There will we bring our hold of holies which we saved from the destruction of our ancestral Fatherland: the idea of Godliness and the Bible; for, only these, and not Jerusalem, or the Jordan, made our old Fatherland the Holy Land.¹²⁹₆₇

This demonstrates the distinction to be made between national-identity and territory or a Land. The usurpation of the territorialist yearnings by the Zionist movement to become a Zionist State is evident in the formative writings of the

¹²⁸ Eric Lee, 'Socialism and the Jewish Revolution (Part I)', *The New International Review*, Volume One, Number Four, 1978, Rosedale, N.Y., Fist and Rose Publishers, inc., p. 22.

¹²⁹ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Jewish Haskalah or Renaissance/Reformation. The turn towards both a State and the territory of Palestine came about because of the lack of a following for Herzl's Statist movement among the Jewish people together the theocratic inclinations of the Protestant State powers of various periods. Herzl himself was inclined to whatever territory any given imperial authority was prepared to concede, whether it was Palestine under the Ottoman empire, or Africa under the British 'Commonwealth'. What mattered for Herzl was only that the State be formed, even before a territory became available.

The objective conditions for the formation of a national liberation movement occur in a socio-economic context and not because of a yearning for a 'return to Zion'.⁶⁸ Dov Ber Borochoy (1881-1917) puts it well when he wrote;

The national problem therefore arises when the development of the forces of production of a nationality conflicts with the state of the conditions of production.¹³⁰

The contradiction of material conditions and political status motivates a People to seek a territorial base from which to cultivate a self-sustainable national economy.

¹³⁰ Ber Borochoy, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

There arose a variety of national identity projects comprising what is called 'Galut' /Dispersion nationalism (Galutism) comprised of:

- (1) the autonomism of the Bundist intelligentsia (1897-1908),
- (2) 'Yiddish culture and autonomy' (Dubnow's 'spiritual nationalism'),
and
- (3) abstract territorialism.

Some examples of territorialism are; the "territorialist 'Freiland' movement",¹³¹ the "Jewish Territorialist Organization (ITO)"¹³² of Israel Zangwill, Jewish Territorialist Workers Party of Minsk, Socialist Territorialist (USA), Socialist-Territorialists (ST), Chiam Zhillovsky's *Vozrozhdenye* (Renaissance), the Ukraine in 1918, the Crimea, and Gershon Mendes Seiza's pupil Mordecai Emannuel Noah (also an American Consul in North Africa), who originated the idea of the Jewish territory of Ararat in the vicinity of Niagara Falls, North America. Inspired by Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* a society in Southern Russia named Am Olam (The Eternal Nation) organized on communistic principles sent a group to the United States where they established several settlements known as The Sons of the Free including New Odessa in Oregon.¹³³₆₉

¹³¹ Borochoy, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹³² Borochoy, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹³³ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Prior to the Russian Revolution, V.I. Lenin (and Avrum Leon's *The Jewish Question*) adopted the position of Kautsky on 'The Jewish Question' (that the Jewish social-caste was not a nation, had no future and would inevitably assimilate with their economic liberation; a non-historical nation),⁷⁰ a position which derives from the French liberal proposal for equal civil rights, emancipation and assimilation. Nonetheless, Lenin agreed at times that the Jewish people constituted a nation and were thus entitled to National rights, along with the Ukranian and Polish people who would be granted rights to express their national culture and the right to auto-determination. In addition to this right to develop their culture, the Jews gradually received local autonomy. Wherever Jews were in the majority of the population, Jewish soviets were established and the official language was Yiddish. There were Jewish village, municipal, and even district soviets. Five Jewish districts were organized in connection with the agriculture settlements in the Crimea and Southern Ukraine. In time, the Soviet authorities concluded that even this was insufficient and the Jews would have to be given the opportunity to have a political life of their own. Thus it was that the idea of Birobidjan was born. President Kalinin, President of the Soviets' Executive Committee, explained the significance of Birobidjan by saying 'we have many Jews and they have no opportunity for a political life of their own' and in order to ensure them complete equality, they must have a territory. At the outset, Birobidjan was established as an autonomous Jewish district, but in 1934 it became an autonomous Jewish region. (The difference is that a region was represented in

the Supreme Soviet.) Subsequently it dissolved away and lost its autonomy in fusion with the neighbouring region in 2008.

In a way, this can all be regarded as mere competition with Zionism, yet there was a further step taken in these developments. In 1936 Kalinin as President of the Soviet Union signed a decree concerning the economic and cultural development of this Jewish autonomous region which states: 'This is the first time in the history of the Jewish people that its ardent desire to establish its own homeland, to found its national state, has been realized'. The significance of this declaration lies in the admission that the Jews' aspiration to a country and state of their own is not something the Zionists invented, but an objective tendency in the history of the Jewish people in the Diaspora.¹³⁴

The significance of this declaration stands apart from the project of Birobidjan itself, which was limited in its functionality because the actual lieu of Jewish residence in western Russia was ignored and a distant territory was substituted as a homeland in exile. This act alone of substituting Birobidjan for the Pale of Settlement was in violation of its stated purpose, since the principle of national auto-determination was absent in its very conception as well as being contrary to the initial proposition for autonomy in the Pale of Settlement of Byelorussia. The Crimea project, though, was initiated by the Jewish Communist Abraham Bragin, who projected that the provinces of Odessa and Nikolayev could be a Jewish member of the Soviet Federal Republics. However the Zionists, the

¹³⁴ R. Mahler, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

Reform Jewish community of America and even Trotsky opposed the project¹³⁵.

5.3 Reciprocal Method in Palestinian-Jewish Relations

With the negation of the superfluous criteria for a nation identified with nationalism and defined as exclusivity, one has by consequence uncovered the distilled essence of this social entity. The necessity of treating all nations equally, without the distinction of a Statist criterion, determines a methodology which does not distinguish amongst the nations for inconsequential reasons. By definition, the aptitude of treating a nation in a reciprocal manner is determined by the clarity of the concept of the nation.

It is thus possible to conclude that the differentiation between exclusive Statism and inclusive tendencies in national consciousness, requires a distinction between Zionist ideology on the one hand, and Jewish national identities on the other, including an Israeli-Jewish nationality. While Zionist nationalism is associated with a State formation, Jewish national identity is associated with the Jewish People. Israeli national identity is an expression of the Israeli-born Jewish population. Zionism is primarily concerned with the territorial integrity of its State institution in effect, its military apparatus and

¹³⁵ Nedava, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

economy. Furthermore, this exclusive notion does not recognize that the Jewish population is based in the Jewish identity together with their other national identities, such as Arabic, Yemenite, Ethiopian/Sudanese, Russian, American, Sephardic, Mizrachi, Ashkenazi, French or English. Preferring instead to conceive of itself as a homogenous society of Jewish adherents, Zionism is necessarily exclusive of the Palestinian people, who are treated as non-existent in theory and as an ephemeral nation in practice. It is only necessary to witness the Zionist movement's use of the Israel Zangwill saying, 'A Land without a people for a People without a Land' out of context, and Golda Meir's insistence that the Palestinian people do not exist, a proposition oftentimes repeated⁷¹. This myopia has been expressed as the desire that the Palestinian refugees assimilate with neighbouring Arab societies, in spite of the failure in practice to have done so over the past decades and in contradiction of the cognizance of the infeasibility of the same fate of the Jewish people themselves in Europe. Having acquiesced to the belief calling for the expulsion from Europe ⁷², Zionism applies the same criterion to the Palestinians and seeks world approval for the permanence of the Palestinian exile, by diplomatic and other means. Historically, Zionist nationalism, based in aspects of ancient Hebrew culture, features exclusive traits in its nature, even while other national cultures coexisted in that same Land in precedence. Actually in terms of territory the State of Israel, as initially formed in 1948, is situated in the homeland of the Phoenicians and the Philistines, where there had never been a Kingdom of Israel. As for the ancient Israel or Judea States, even the

most prominent king, Solomon, was of Moabite descent in origin and culture, as well as being Hebrew. Consequently, even though a minority portion of the Jewish People are in the process of forming an Israeli Hebrew society, such a project cannot be accomplished in an exclusive manner, as it is based upon false perceptions of itself and its social environment. Recognition of the Palestinian People as an independent nation in reciprocity is the prior condition to security. Likewise, even though Palestinian national-identity is presented with the fundamental contradiction of Israel State patriotism, it is nonetheless obliged to take into consideration the Israeli national-identity existing within that State superstructure, as well as Jewish national-identity in general. Palestinian and Israeli reciprocal recognition would become the basis for a pluralistic society or societies, and further still, Palestinian recognition of Jewish national-identity would provide the basis for a political dialogue with the potential of bypassing the Zionist parties and their State.

Where the Jewish people are concerned, such a reconciliation, or at least its eventual perception, allows for a view of itself which is focussed on its actual world situation. The Zionist pretension to restore the Kingdom of Israel merely provides for an escapist utopian psychology. A majority of Jewish people live elsewhere other than within the State of Israel while Zionist ideology subordinates their consciousness as a Jewish Nation to that State. The Zionist political parties refuse recognition of the world-wide Jewish community insisting upon 'Aliya' - the ingathering to be implemented for the

Zionist State, as it is constituted. The definition of Nation in Zionist ideology is the classical notion of a homogenous State apparatus and its consequent acceptance of the exclusion of Jewish people from the world arena, as was noted in the reference to Christian Restorationism. Exclusive nationalism, as in the form of the Zionist movement, presents itself as the revolutionary means by which a nation may obtain its proper power. This is rationalized as being, 'A Nation like other Nations'. In effect, however, exclusivity is self-demeaning and irrationally antagonistic towards 'the others', so contradicting its own claim to identity as a principle. Presenting itself as a national liberation movement, Zionism has merely generated inter-national and civil wars. The limitations of such a Statist revolution present themselves as solely a struggle for power itself on the part of the parties represented and additionally, amongst the different party apparati seeking hegemonic control. The political party apparatus seeks to duplicate itself as a state superstructure apart from the Nation, but based upon its national dynamic. The State rationalizes itself by generating the persistent conditions for the necessity of security, in order to become the fundamental criterion of all priorities and daily life. In the Jewish example, this concern for security takes on an unlimited dimension, generated in the context of the endemic consciousness of fear created by the Christian ideologically-inspired Holocaust. Consequently, Jewish Zionists are willing to sacrifice all for the security of the State. This sacrifice for the State include the sons and daughters of the new generation in the 'Israel Defence Force', as well as the numerous Palestinian and subsequent Jewish civilian victims. The

general standard of living is also abandoned, thus perpetuating a class structured society and economic insecurity, especially among the Arab citizens both Jewish and Palestinian.

Despite the profound differences between the contending tendencies in national consciousness, there are no two forms of nationalism. Exclusive nationalist attributes place the State before the Nation and seek to appropriate national identity for its own benefit and not for the Nation per se. To the extent that Statism/patriotism is propagated amongst the people this is a false national consciousness, otherwise considered to be conducive to authoritarianism, and possibly fascism/Nazism, monarchism, Bonapartism, or Stalinism. The failure in Jewish political culture to confront the expression of nationalism by the left-Zionist tendencies, the spiritual Zionism, and the non-Zionist theories is also presented in the rationalization of nationalism with national consciousness by Simon Dubnow, who wrote, "It seems to me that such oversharpe distinctions have no place in scientific terminology [...]"¹³⁶ He refers to the Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovyev for providing such a distinction, a source which requires further attention.⁷³

The relations established initially with the Palestine Authority by the State of Israel is a first element in the de-Zionisation of Israel. The further recognition and the establishment of mutual diplomatic relations between the

¹³⁶ Dubnow, *op. cit.*, *Nationalism and History*, p. 125.

Israel State and the governing bodies of the Palestinians; the Palestine Liberation Organization, the national assembly named the Palestine National Council, the Palestine Legislative Assembly and the Palestine Authority provides a deepening of this process. We can now witness the negotiations that follow from time to time to dismantle the authority of the Zionist State over its 1967 occupied territories under the impetus of the popular 'Intifada' uprising. This fragmentation is to be followed by a generalized struggle, an internal debate amongst not only the Palestinian People but the Israeli Jewish community as well as the Jewish communities in the various countries of dispersion, concerning the authority to determine public policy; over territory, towards their neighbours/other nations, and over internal jurisdictions as well. Advances in the relations between civil society organization between the two Peoples, as well as joint organisations further the revolutionary dynamic. Evidently these Peoples shall be Nations unlike any State.

Within the actual pre-'67 State of Israel, the 18 percent of the citizenry which remains of the Palestinian Nation will seek to be represented collectively through their expressions of national-cultural autonomy on behalf of the Palestinian and the Druze people. Likely, the Sepharadic Arab-Jewish population will also seek its autonomy from the European-Ashkenazi State structure. The same may even be the case for other national sub-groupings such as the Russian Jewish population and the Falasha/Falash-Mora of Ethiopia

and the Sudanese community. Another contradiction in Zionist ideology has created a certain enthusiasm for the traditional orthodox Jewish existence of Torah times (so leading to the drive for colonies in the West Bank region ascribed the names of Galilee, and Judea), while negating the religion's ethics in practice. The threat of civil war is posed by a faction of the settlers movement of 'Judea' which forms an anti-state factor of unstable propensities seeking its own State, acting somewhat like the fascist militias of other counter-revolutionary situations. The 'settlers' however may very well find themselves negotiating independently with the Palestinian Authority.

In terms of world politics, the limitations imposed upon the expansion of the Israeli State will make the social status of the remaining two-thirds of the Jewish People outside of Israel an actual practical matter. The collective rights of Jewish people in their chosen countries of residence become political issues that oblige societies to consider such matters as national-cultural autonomy and territorialism. The Jewish People in turn are obliged to consider the nature of the State with which they are confronted, and the struggle with exclusive political tendencies endangering their security⁷⁴. The political conditions that will become apparent in this manner of method generates the need for alliances with other like-minded and insecure social formations, so creating the direction for Inter-National/s linkages, treaties, as well as agreements and constitutional arrangements.

5.3.1 Programmatic Considerations

The necessity of an alternate defining relationship of the social phenomenon of national identity and its society is demonstrated by the hundred-some-year long Zionist/Israeli war against the Palestinian Arabs. In this problematic, the position held by the Zionist parties claims to represent a national liberation movement, with the objective of an Israel State as the sole means of emancipation, despite the Palestinian efforts to do the same.

By abandoning exclusive categories and rejecting the denial of the social phenomenon of national identity, one becomes capable of developing a perspective that contributes to a resolution of that problematic by way of the Inter-National/s conception.

Until the Nazi Judaeocide (Jewish Holocaust/Cherburn), Zionism had no basis to claim a predominant position amongst the world-dispersed Jewish population.

After all the trumpeting in London and in Cleveland about the visions of 'redemption' and the 'ingathering' of the Jewish nation in the national homeland, there were only 83,794 Jews in all of Palestine by 1922. In the four years since the Balfour Declaration scarcely 28,000 Jews had been added to the 56,000 who were in

Palestine when World War I ended in 1918. (There were about 660,000 Arabs in Palestine in 1922.)¹³⁷

The historically unparalleled, systematic attempt to physically entirely annihilate the European Jewish community during the Second European World War was decisive in Jewish sympathies towards the Palestine project as a site; even though the Zionist parties abstained from and opposed the efforts to open the doors of any one country to fleeing Jewish refugees - other than Palestine. In actuality, the Zionist leading party, the Labour Party (Mapam and Mapai) compliance with the anti-Jewish closed-door policy of Canada, of the U.S.A. and of Britain, was the logic of the Christian-Zionist ideology and its Occidental State benefactors and consequently this ideology's practice demonstrated it did not serve the life and death needs of the Jewish people.

If the number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine during the years of the Nazi party's increasing control of the German State would be taken into consideration, it provides a pale counterpart to the numbers of Jewish immigrants who escaped into the 'Soviet Union'.

¹³⁷ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

In 1932, 9,000 German Jews entered Palestine. In 1933, 30,000; in 1934, 40,000; in 1935, 61,000.

In 1931, there were only 174,616 Jews in Palestine, but by 1939 the number had risen to 445,457. By that time, the Arabs numbered more than one million.¹³⁸

The number of Jewish emigres before ghettoisation, into Palestine prior to the outbreak of the war numbers 270,841 and the number of lives which were extracted by concessions during the Holocaust is not known but limited to the thousands.⁷⁵ Thus the number of lives saved from the Nazi regime by Zionist means totals around 300,000. From the perspective of the Zionist method this number is considered more important than the 5-6 million that were lost, according to Ben Gurion, since it provided the critical mass necessary to launch the State. The State becomes the principle over all other considerations as it is considered to embody a material asset not unlike a golden calf. On the other hand it is reported that about 500,000⁷⁶ Jewish survivors were able to escape Nazi occupied territory into the U.S.S.R., so providing a haven for considerably more lives than the Zionist project. Since the numbers of actual Jewish lives is not the determining criterion for this particular political method, it leaves the State as the exclusive consideration. The argument for a safe haven during the Judaeocide is actually superficial to the Zionist ideology itself. This much was perceived by the surviving Jewish Displaced Persons;

¹³⁸ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 236-7.

between 1945 and 1951 millions of displaced people and refugees, 330,000 of them Jewish Holocaust survivors [...] less than 40 percent of the survivors came to Palestine [...] in spite of the heavy pressures by the Zionist agencies: a disappointing proportion, given the movement's initial expectations.¹³⁹

Further still, the Zionist parties exposed their programme by a willing cooperation with the Nazi regime's in the 'Haavra/Haavara' ¹⁴⁰ agreement to secure the release of Zionist party members and bourgeois funders exclusively, for emigration, while consciously leaving the opposing Jewish political organizations and the remaining community in the hands of the Nazi occupation.⁷⁷ This being so, even the social-democratic Zionist parties nonetheless favoured this agreement rather than even informing the Jewish communities about the nature of the death camps. In addition there was the additional programmatic decision to refrain from the anti-Nazi embargo on the Germany State internationally. Zionist forces were reserved for action against the Palestinians or the British military rather than with the Partisans against the Nazi forces despite Zionist resistance in the Warsaw ghetto. Further still is the perfidy in the logical consequence of the State ideology undermining the immigration of Jewish post-war survivors to North America.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Baruch Kimmerling, Review Essay: 'Israel's Culture of Martyrdom', *The Nation*, 10/01/2004, pp. 8,7.

¹⁴⁰ Elmessiri, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁴¹ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

During the Second Intifada the argument is often presented for the necessity of State militarism for defence much as it was presented at the time of State-building, notwithstanding the devastatingly stark research presented by the Israeli new historians disproving that defensive contention. Zionist parties claim to invoke the military option in favour of the security interests of the Jewish People, however one is permitted to suspect that it is the State that is in need of security rather than its subjects.

The Zionist Organization of America can quite correctly state in its open letter to then U.S. President Nixon, published in the July 30, 1974 *New York Times* that ;

A secure and strong Israel is vital to our country's global interests. Your administration, Mr. President, has consistently recognized this to be true [...] What was true before October, 1973, remains true today, Israel still remains the only reliable friend and ally of our country in the Middle East. The 'de facto' alliance between the United States and Israel remains the firm bedrock of our position in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴²

By adopting the inevitability of anti-Jewish racism (as in the case of Richard M. Nixon), Zionism equally discounts its own racist underpinnings with respect to the Palestinians, as a natural state of being and the price of Nation-State-building - currently described as 'ethnic-cleansing'. The

¹⁴² Zionist Organization of America, *New York Times*, November 30, 1974.

consequences not only impinge upon the Israeli Jewish population who have lived in a continual state of non-peace, but in addition, these racist policies are broadly felt and impinge upon the world Jewish population. The world Jewish People is oftentimes labelled as being responsible for violations of ethical norms of conduct due to a de-facto identification with the Zionist State, compounding the stereotypical error in antisemitism - so leading to the further isolation and targeting of the Jewish People, in contradiction to the Zionist self-proclaimed goal of self-emancipation.⁷⁸

5.3.1.1 Jewish Alternatives to Zionism

The Jewish political-culture formed by the 'Jewish Bund' (founded as in 1897 the same year as that of the Zionist movement), as well as the subsequent Jewish resistance, the Partisan brigades (including the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943 and the many other revolts that followed), including the prior United Opposition in the Communist International by Zinoviev, Kamenev⁷⁹, and Trotsky/Bronstein, including the many figures of diverse tendencies, who have all instilled the consciousness of a anti-Zionist movement amongst the Jewish people of today – all these influences have laid the basis for an opposition movement against the Zionist parties' hegemony over the major Jewish institutions. The Zionist hegemony over the Jewish identity is consequently undergoing an existential crisis as a result of the continuing

retention of the nineteenth century paradigm of the Nation-State into the twenty-first century.

The exclusivity of Israel towards the Palestinians exists in relation to the history of opposition between the Zionist parties and the non-Zionist national movements, among the Jewish social movements, as well as, the sectarian politics within the Zionist movement itself. With respect to Jewish identity, apart from the Zionist parties; there are other social and political tendencies, such as the Territorialists, the Bundists, the Orthodox Chassidic Neturei Karta, Hisachdus-Hayereim/Lev Tahor and the Satmar tendencies in general; as well as the various divergent theories by individuals of the Marxist milieu, such as Rosa Luxembourg, Lev Davidovitch Bronstein, and in particular the national-cultural autonomy of Vladimir Medem and Otto Bauer,¹⁴³ as in the Second International and inspired by the Jewish Bund. In addition to the formulation of national-cultural autonomy, the Bund marks a certain influence in the intra-war years with Erlich and Alter. Actually, a history of that period remains to be published that is filed in the NKVD prison archives in Yiddish and written by Erlich under interrogation before his execution for organizing the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR under Stalin.⁸⁰ In the anarchist movement,⁸¹ there were Ber Borochov⁸², Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Also, alongside the Zionist milieu, there are the dissident thinkers like Martin Buber, and others such as the theoretician Hans Kohn and Ahad

¹⁴³ Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, Vienna, 1924, 2nd edition.

Ha'am⁸³. Among dissident intellectuals and artists, there has been Albert Einstein⁸⁴, Sigmund Freud and Moshe Menuhin.⁸⁵

The Jewish Bund is a notable formation;

'Der Allgemeiner Yiddisher Arbeter Bund in Rusland un Poyln (The General Jewish Workers' Union in Russia and Poland), commonly referred to as the 'Bund'. [...] On the eve of Succoth, October 1897, 13 Jews gathered in a house on the outskirts of Vilna to create the Bund. Founded along Marxist, Social Democratic ideals, its avowed purpose was to fight for the economic and political liberation of the Jewish working masses. At the same time it committed itself equally to the pursuit of human rights as well as social economic, and political justice, for all people in Czarist Russia, in the tumultuous final years of Romanov absolutism. With time, the Bund would evolve a national program for the Jews to rival that of the Zionist movement. Jewish life, it was argued, could live and thrive in the Diaspora if Jews would only join the fight for democratic change in the countries of their inheritance. While the Zionists were promoting a Hebraist, Palestinian-oriented variety of Jewish nationalism, the Bund placed its feet squarely within the realm of the Jewish Diaspora. Bundists argued that true Socialism meant not cosmopolitanism, or assimilationism, but internationalism, and that by working in concert, the combined force of unique, and autonomous nations would bring about the desired Socialist future'.¹⁴⁴

Altogether it is evident that all these suppressed and forgotten currents of thought should be taken into consideration since they make up a dynamic differentiated from the Zionist ideology, an ideology that has persisted as the

¹⁴⁴ Benjy Gonshor, 'BUND... Jewish Bund', *In Montreal*, vol. 5, no.6, janvier 1998, p. 9.

prevailing consciousness by default amongst the Jewish people of the Occidental countries and in the mainstream Occidental ideologies.

With a serious consideration of the indicated alternatives, the conflicting demands for the common territory of Palestine may be overcome with a conceptual breakthrough. The right of auto-emancipation may truly be possible without being in contradiction with the collective will of another People. It is simply that this right of mutual existence cannot be maintained for one entity alone, it exists only as it would exist for all, Inter-Nationally. It becomes self-evident that a right can only be claimed as such if it is considered as being unlimited in scope.

The need for territoriality impressed itself on the Jewish people during the onset of reaction during the 1930's, leading Lev Bronstein/Trotsky to adopt a territorialist position, as well as identifying the Jewish people as a Nation;

Letter by Leon Trotsky

With respect to the letter by Ykslagor, the statement that Birobidjan is 'Left Zionism' seems to me to be completely incorrect. Zionism draws away the workers from the class struggle by means of unrealizable hopes of a Jewish state under capitalist conditions. But a workers' government is duty bound to create for the Jews, as for any nation, the very best circumstances for cultural development. This means, inter alia: to provide for those Jews who desire to have their own schools, their own press, their own theatre, etc., a separate territory for self-administration and development. The

international proletariat will behave in the same way when it will become the master of the whole globe. In the sphere of the national question there must be no restraint; on the contrary there must be an all-sided material assistance for the cultural needs of all nationalities and ethnic groups. If this or that national group is doomed to go down (in the national sense) then this must proceed in the same way as a natural process, but never as a consequence of any territorial, economic, or administrative difficulties.¹⁴⁵ [October 1934]₈₆

During the year 1937 Bronstein legitimated national-identity declaring;

One must therefore reckon with the fact that the Jewish nation will maintain itself for an entire epoch to come. Now, the nation cannot normally exist without a common territory. Zionism springs from this very idea. But the facts of every passing day demonstrate to us that Zionism is incapable of resolving the Jewish question. The conflict between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine acquires a more and more tragic and more and more menacing character. I do not at all believe that the Jewish question can be resolved within the framework of rotting capitalism and under the control of British imperialism.

And how, you ask me, can socialism solve this question? On this point I can but offer hypotheses. Once socialism has become master of our planet or at least of its most important sections, it will have unimaginable resources in all domains. Human history has witnessed the epoch of great migrations on the basis of barbarism. Socialism will open the possibility of great migrations on the basis of the most developed technique and culture. It goes without saying that what is here involved is not compulsory displacement, that is, the creation of new ghettos for certain nationalities, displacements freely consented to, or rather demanded by certain nationalities or parts of nationalities. The dispersed Jews who would want to be reassembled

¹⁴⁵ Leon Trotsky, *on the Jewish Question*, New York, Pathfinder Press, (1970) 1973, pp. 18-19.

in the same community will find sufficiently extensive and rich spot under the sun. The same possibility will be opened for the Arabs, as for all other scattered nations. National topography will become a part of the planned economy. This is the grand historical perspective that I envisage. To work for international socialism means to work for the solution of the Jewish question.¹⁴⁶₈₇

The very same methods of solving the Jewish question which under decaying capitalism have a utopian and reactionary character (Zionism), will, under the regime of a socialist federation, take on a real and salutary meaning.¹⁴⁷

The need and desire for Jewish territory that is auto-determinant - freed from expulsions and pogroms - has been diverted into the fortified ghetto being called 'Eretz Yisroel'. In the actuality it operates as the State of Israel under the auspices of the United States of America; an ironic colonialism under modern imperialism - the new Rome and its agents. Ber Borochov's first stage of emancipation₈₈ has become frozen into a monolithic State machine ever more centralized, rather than generating the class struggle by the normalization of the relations of production. The Israeli proletariat is captured in a State formation from which it cannot find its way out, on its own. Class consciousness alone is not the coherent social force it might seem to be.

¹⁴⁶ Leon Trotsky, 'Jews Must Have a Land, Trotsky Declares', *Forwaerts*, 24 January 1937, pp. 1, 9 (in Yiddish), Interview (with Jewish Telegraphic Agency), 18 January 1937, English translation in *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁴⁷ Trotsky, 'Thermidor and Anti-Semitism', p. 215, *Ibid.*, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, p. 554.

The territorial solution has been converted into an absolutist pseudo-religious idea, replacing the vacuum left by the dissolution of common religious convictions prior to the Holocaust, when the idea of the collective identity of the Jewish People in the deity was seen as the deliverer of its chosen people!¹⁴⁸ In place of the religious practice itself, the Zionist territorialist parties asserted themselves based on the surviving religious identity with 'Eretz Yisroel' that offered the potential to form a Jewish homeland in name. Such a political Messianic idea was encouraged by the Christian Nation-States which were refusing entry to the Jewish refugees previously and furthermore sought to limit the Holocaust refugees to the greatest degree possible. Accordingly 48% of the Jewish refugees were recruited to become Zionist militias in Palestine. No thought was given to forming a Jewish territory in Breslau.

In actuality though, the nature of things is that currently a greater proportion of Jewish people live in lands other than Palestine; in North America, Europe, Russia, South America, the Near East, the Middle East, Azania (South Africa), China and elsewhere. In fact, less than forty percent of the world's fourteen-some million Jewish population live under the State of Israel.⁸⁹ The fundamental premise of Zionist theory has in practice been ignored or rejected consciously by the greater proportion of all Jewish people

¹⁴⁸ Thierry Hentsch, *Imagining the Middle East*, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1992, pp. 168-169.

who are in practice non-Zionists, by definition, having chosen to reside elsewhere. Israel is then not the sole legitimate homeland of the Jewish people for all of these empirical reasons alone.

The Jewish People-Nation exists within and without the Israeli State. The non-Israeli Jewish people however live within an illusion of assimilation often sugarcoated in Zionist acquiescence or pretension. While the territorialist yearnings of the Jewish People to form a national homeland is currently sifted into the Zionist pot, the territorial programme could be met in the context of those areas where Jewish people actually reside in a critical mass. With autonomy or territorialism the national rights of collective social affinity could be met to satisfy the social existence of Jewish people as any other people. This is auto-determination for the Jewish people as a Nation rather than the pseudo-independence of the State of Israel alone.

A nation's right to auto-determination is predicated upon the respect held for that very same right as it is held up by others. One's needs cannot be fulfilled unless such a right is to be upheld for all others as well, as a matter of principle, forging a solidarity through which others become allies on the basis of reciprocal rights. In this manner an historic turning point may be passed.

Traditionally the Palestinian People are the Jewish People's second sisters and brothers, and it should be understood that the respect given to

another is the measure of the respect to be expected, in any reciprocal manner of living. Presumably this is why the Rabbi Hillel wrote that, 'If I am not for myself then who am I; and if I am not for the other then what am I'.

5.3.1.2 Independence and Territoriality

In the case of the State of Israel, the contention held by the Zionist movement is that it is the only possible expression of Jewish territorialism.⁹⁰ As such it necessarily presents itself in opposition to the Palestinian people who reside upon the Land in dispute. Even the editor of the Zionist founding father Max Nordau pointed out that territorialism was originally not exclusively oriented to Palestine.

(1) Nous ne savons exactement à quel ouvrage Nordau fait allusion ici. Deux écrits anonymes sur la question ont vu le jour en Allemagne en 1840. Le premier intitulé *Neujudäa*, parut chez Haim, à Berlin, mais loin de préconiser l'acquisition de la Palestine, l'auteur de cet ouvrage proposait la fondation d'un Etat Juif en Amérique.¹⁴⁹

By abandoning exclusive categories and by rejecting the denial of the parallel social phenomena of national identity amongst others, one is capable of developing a perspective in the world context that is able to provide a resolution of that international contradiction through the process of Inter-

¹⁴⁹ Max Nordau, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

National/s mutual recognition.

The State of Israel of 1948 was not the unique first major initiatives to enforce/inaugurate a modern Jewish homeland or territory; previous initiatives being in the Pale of Settlement in Czarist 'White Russia', and in the 1928 experiment as mentioned, at Birobijan in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. However, a viable Jewish Land failed to materialize from the Bolshevik revolution when territorial autonomy was first ignored and then trivialized. All these modern territorial attempts have failed the test of viability and Jewish people continue to desire those features of life unavailable to them in the prevailing societies; that is, the need for autonomous territories in conjunction with autonomy for existing urban national-cultural settings. This ingrained need for territorial autonomy is evident in the worshipping from afar sentiments towards the Israel State by various Jewish community strata, a desire that is based on the real needs for land, security, peace and the freedom of identity and culture; historically denied to the Jewish People. Existing States do not provide for these material and intellectual necessities, while existing political doctrines do not consider Jewish and other minority national needs.

In this aftermath of the Nazi Judaeocide, it is difficult to deny the potential of the hostility prevailing in Occidental political cultures, as none of the participants or spectators in that war of genocidal extermination have undergone a substantial transformation while the lingering memory of that

tragedy fades and remains subdued in newer generations. The Zionist experience follows in the footsteps of power politics. That a stockpile of more than 200 genocidal nuclear bombs has been accumulated by a State professing peaceful intentions, together with the 'Jericho' intermediate-range missile is an aberration of the very principles of the Jewish culture. It is evident that such a crises as occurred during the WWII has not been overcome in political-culture, if such a potential remains in effect.

5.3.2 Constitutional Proposals

In the resolution of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, the poly-national society and the Inter-nationalization of nations simultaneously requires the practice of national-cultural autonomy and the concretization of territorial autonomy/integrity for both the Palestinians and Jewish people, where they reside, so that there is no apparent need for and dependency upon the State. Despite the popularization of the references to a 'Jewish-Palestinian conflict', the two Peoples remain compatible in a non-State setting.

It may be universally acknowledged, as it was in 1976 by the Director of the Planning Centre of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut, Lebanon, Dr. Nabil Sha'ath and more recently principal negotiating representative for the first government of the Palestine Authority, that the

Palestinian Charter;

signifies equally, that the exercise by the people of Palestine of their right of self-determination in Palestine does not include the right to exclude the palestinian Jews from Palestine, that signifies also that this right does not include the right to create in Palestine a State solely arab. The right to self-determination of the Palestinian People, applied to the jewish Palestinians, means that they must exercise this right on the land of Palestine, and that this right does not include the right of separation and consequently, the exclusion of the Arab people of Palestine. This is why the right to self-determination of Jews and of Arabs in Palestine must be exercised in common on the same land, Palestine.

The principle of reciprocity is thereby acknowledged by Sha'ath;

that signifies the end of all States which require that the self-determination of its ethnic group assumes the exclusion of another ethnic group [...] it is thus the definitive end of all States in which segregation exists de jure or de facto.¹⁵⁰

The State is the concept that there is an absolute security that is based on one's own proper strength, names sovereignty. Considering that the State is not an eternal phenomenon, its security is therefore not absolute, and so its security is limited, by definition. Alternatively, there is the sense of security built up by means of the mutual relations with those with whom a People

¹⁵⁰ Nabil Shaath, « L'autodetermination et l'état démocratique de Palestine », *Palestine : Actes du colloque Palestine*, pp. 211-218, Bruxelles, Belgique, 13-15 mai 1976, Douclot - S.N.E.D., p. 213.

interacts by means of treaty and constitutional consensus.

The feasibility of a Constitutional arrangement that satisfies the reciprocal territorial affinities of the two Peoples, the Palestinian Nation and Israeli Jewish nationality, is demonstrated by the proposals of both Nabil Sha'ath and Raphael Mahler, Professor Emeritus of Jewish history at Tel Aviv University, 1974. The similarities of their two proposals are evident in that two nations are recognized by each party, as well as their endorsement of mutual habitation in the common territory. Although the proposal of Professor Mahler's may indeed be in contradiction to the perpetuation of the centralized authority known as the State of Israel, nonetheless it follows from his learned analysis, even though it contradicts the ideology he professes. The proposal Mahler presents is a derivative of the Buber tendency of Humanist Zionism, a utopian doctrine, in so far as it assumed the compatibility of Zionism as a Statist ideology with the Palestinian presence.

Historical rights are unfounded unless they mean an actual, historical attachment, a vital spiritual and psychological attachment of a people to its land, an attachment which is rooted in the past and continues to be a source of hope for the people and its national prospects. In this sense both of the peoples living in this country - the Jews and the Arabs - have an historical attachment to the Land of Israel which is their homeland. Comprehension of this truth by both sides is a fundamental condition for the solution of the present conflict and the peaceful co-existence of two neighboring peoples in the same

country.¹⁵¹

The attractiveness of the proposal above lies in its reciprocity of consciousness accommodating the national needs of each of the parties concerned. The implication to be derived is that this is a proposal for a bi-national society, with each nationality having its majoritarian self-government as a national autonomy. This tendency is derived from Ahad Ha'am who was rather explicit about his rejection of a State and his proposal for a shared society;

For them, too, the country is a national home, and they have a right to develop national forces to the extent of their ability. This situation makes Palestine the common land of several peoples, each of whom wishes to build its national home there. In such circumstances it is no longer possible that the national home of one of them could be total. ...all the inhabitants are partners, and the management of the whole has to be directed in agreement with the interests of them all.¹⁵²₉₁

Such a bi-national conception is perceived from many differing perspectives and minds. It becomes evident that a non-exclusive mutual-aid based civil society is the consequence of multiple deductions including the very interesting words of Albert Einstein when he spoke out in 1938,

the fateful disease of our time, exaggerated nationalism, borne up by blind hatred. [...] I should much rather see reasonable agreement

¹⁵¹ Raphael Mahler, *The Land of Israel and The Jewish People*, Tel Aviv, Israel Peace Research Society, 1974, p. 18.

¹⁵² Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish State. Apart from practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish State, with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power no matter how modest. I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain, especially from the development of a narrow nationalism within a Jewish State. We are no longer the Jews of the Maccabee period! A return to a nation in the political sense of the word would be the equivalent to turning away from the spiritualization of our community which we owe to the genius of our prophets.¹⁵³₉₂

In 1939, the twentieth Zionist Congress appointed a committee with the participation of Dr. Magnus which recommended equality in population and autonomous zones, rather than partition. Since the 1942 report was ignored the Ihud (Union) association was formed to promote a bi-national State, although such a formulation is a contradiction in terms.¹⁵⁴ The contradiction with the nation-state is due to the centralized nature of the State with its singular head of state and majority rule principle. Ihud also used the term 'commonwealth' interchangeably with the term 'State' leading to such ambiguity, although a second proposition of a plan for Federation was made by Professor Buber in 1958.¹⁵⁵₉₃ Uri Avnery continues this ambiguity in the tendency expressly as a two-state solution proposition initiated by Yigal Alon. The Shlomo Sands hypothesis follows in this vein of Israeli identity.

¹⁵³ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁵⁴ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 103-104.

¹⁵⁵ Menuhin, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-371.

Hannah Arendt, while pro-Zionist in the 20's, became anti-nationalist in the 1940's,

she drew close to the tiny Brit Shalom movement, which espoused an Arab-Jewish binational State in Palestine. In 1945 she published an article titled 'Zionism reconsidered' – which forecast most of the wrongdoings of Zionism while still demonstrating a deep emotional and intellectual concern for the future of Israel and its people.¹⁵⁶

This tradition of a bi-national federation has been maintained by Noam Chomsky whose position is reprinted in the work *Towards a New Cold War* (1982), forming the basis of his critique. A summery of various confederal proposals is contained in the document *Isratine* by Libya's Moummar Khadaffi.¹⁵⁷₉₄ This bi-nationalist current of thought has found its expression in the constitutional proposition from Jeff Halper of The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) in his essay *Israel in a Middle East Union : A 'Two-stage' Approach to the Conflict*.

The key element of this approach is the ability of all members of the confederation to live and work anywhere within the confederation's boundaries. [...] By disconnecting the Right of Return from citizenship, the refugees would realize their political identity through

¹⁵⁶ Baruch Kimmerling, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Moummar Khadaffi, *Isratine*, On-line, 'Isratine – PT 1 – 3 The One State Solution for Israel and Palestine', *Libya Against Super Power Media*, < <http://libyaagainstsUPERPOWERmedia.org/2012/11/27/isratinc-pt-1-the-one-state-solution-for-israel-and-palestine/> >, Consulted October 13, 2014.

citizenship in a Palestinian state while posing no challenge to Israeli sovereignty, thus enjoying substantive individual justice by living in any part of Palestine/Israel or the wider region they choose. And since a confederal solution does not require that the settlements be dismantled – although they will be integrated – it is not dependent upon ‘ending the Occupation’, the main obstacle to the two-state solution. It will simply neutralize it, rendering all the walls, checkpoints, bypass roads, and segregated cities irrelevant.¹⁵⁸

In respect to security, this reciprocal question need not be problematic since each nationality is open to the other and it becomes self-defeating to act in an exclusionary manner in the context of civil society. In the political sense, security is provided by the fulfilment of each set of respective national aspirations. No doubt reciprocal provisions for self-defence and mutual defence may be provided for in any constitutional provisions. Such a strategy would be the consequence of the bi-national conception in achieving peace with the resultant social progress.

Such an historical tendency derives its dynamic based on the approach that what is necessary is what will be. Without an examination of the necessary prior conditions for peace, the stasis of the current balance of forces prevails. This is neither adequate to solve the political issues that continue nor is it stable, since the relationship of forces is constantly changing thus, only leading

¹⁵⁸ Jeff Halper, ‘Israel in a Middle East Union : A “Two-stage” Approach to the Conflict’, *Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD)*, Jan/Feb 2005, On-line, < <http://www.tikkun.org/magazine/index.cfm/action/tikkun/issue/tik0501/article/050112.html> >, Consulted 2005.

to permanent war.

The current transitional period in Palestine is testing the viability of the proposition proposed by Sha'ath. This period, introduced by the Oslo accords, is intermittent between permanent war and peace. The prolongation of this transitional period by the delays introduced by the various leaderships of the Zionist State and its repeated dismissal of ad hoc cease-fires, as well as its unwillingness to resolve the responsibility for such massacres as the Hebron Tomb of the Patriarch in 1994, led to a reopening of the civil war. By osmosis civil war spread into the Israeli Jewish nationality, with the assassination of the pro-Oslo governmental leader Yitzhak Rabin, acting together with agents of the Zionist State itself, seeking to sabotage the Oslo agreement.

Nonetheless, the degree to which there exists an inter-penetration of populations has become a fixed social reality which negates the proposal for segregation of the populations in its entirety. The prospects for peace in the current political climate have been stalled in spite of the international pressures of the Occidental States. These States seek to resolve such an unstable situation which threatens to ignite the determination of both the Pan-Arabist and Pan-Islamic movements, as well as OPEC (Organization of Oil Producing Countries). It may also be said that the inherent contradictions are being drawn tighter towards the point and the moment when the Palestinian refugees become the central issue (3.8 million refugees registered with the UN

agency [now numbering seven million]). The proposal for the declaration of a Palestinian State is feasible enough, but largely symbolic insofar as the refugees are concerned. Nonetheless, the developing features of Palestinian civil society offer the means by which the constant drive to expel the Palestinian population has been halted, for the moment.

5.4 Conclusion₅

By means of Reciprocity we find the duality of any concept, since it is communal between any two parties. Thus auto-determination does exist in and of itself; but it only operates in respect to 'the Self' if it were to function for 'the Other' as well. The consequences of this abstraction are felt in the area of methodology as well as in terms of applications, where this Reciprocal Principle is pertinent to and the negation of the imagined credibility of such conceptions as State, Ideology, and so Monism in general.

5.4.1 Collective Consciousness

Religion is a means by which a nation or community formulates a code or doctrine to perpetuate itself in eternity by means of collective consciousness. This eternity is considered a divine attribute, while actually it has the purpose of forming a national collectivity or enduring community.

These forms of collectivity provide for those essential interests which cannot be achieved by other means. This striving for the eternity of identity cannot be achieved by a less coherent social formation or the individual entity itself. Identity is the focus of attention since such an historical memory contains the elements of human consciousness itself, in addition to the sense of self-defence necessary for its survival. The religious conception of the Nation considers 'Le Moi' as the image of the Nation that can accomplish that which it cannot itself, as in a Divine figure. The absolutist conception of the self in a religious framework creates the Monarchy with its ideology, among its adherents. The resulting monarchist conception of self-determination is Statism in its material elaboration. Such a national entity seeks to derive some exclusive privilege in competition with any other such social entity, and so there arises its need for a State, to define the privileges of a property. In this sense Property can indeed be considered not only theft but privilege and absolutism.

While the Statist ideology conceives of survival as a competitive striving for scarce resources - as if it represents a private interest in property - the Nation has traditionally conceived of survival as simply a matter of life. Perhaps that is why the African 'Woloff' language of Senegal's name for life 'Adona', is found to be in ancient Hebrew one letter short for one of the names for the deity. The eternity of the Nation is concerned with sustaining life in its children, not in the power centres of the State. Power as a phenomenon seeks to justify its own existence for no other reason than by

definition, a vicious tautology. The State is a concept created for the accumulation of power in a competitive methodology, rather than in any creative praxis, that is, a corporate entity seeking to expand itself as if in a self-proclaimed principle of self-determination. This is reminiscent of the masculine cultural attribute in which survival means victory over animal food sources, or human competitors, as opposed to the feminine trait of food cultivation or conciliation⁹⁶. The Nation is more associated with the feminine cultural attributes. As in the *HAUDENOSAUNEE* Native Confederacy, it is the women who maintain the chief as well as the Land, which they cultivate.⁹⁷

The methodological tendencies discussed here, while going through transformations in conceptualization by reason of structural changes in the relation and conditions of production, as well as experiments in thought, alter the society in which they are found by the dynamic of the mass collective consciousness. The transformations in society are due to contradictions between various exclusive and inclusive tendencies found in the social movements of civil society.

A National religion provided the social code in historic memory which guaranteed the basic means of physical and social survival. In this manner, it sought to maintain the Nation for the sake of eternity. However, religion can also be used as rationale for the perpetuation of the state in the masculine ideologic interpretation of religious history. The contradiction introduced into religion by Society (social interests) rather than the State (power/exclusive corporate interests), may serve to transform religion from the ideology of

survival and power into attributes of the collective cultural consciousness of the Nation - so contributing its accumulated intellectual wealth to all concerned.

The collective consciousness of the Nation transcends the boundaries of State and Class. The widespread nature of the Jewish Nation is indicative of an 'Inter-Societal Nation', irrespective of the presence of State formations or of class divisions and alignments. While bypassing economic determinism, it is in the nature of a non-exclusive national collective consciousness to comprise the consciousness of the class relations in its midst nevertheless. Class consciousness and its dynamic in Civil Society may come into synchronicity with that of the national consciousness, by way of the alignment of the inherent class divisions₉₈. The probability of their coincidence is based in various factors and overriding tendencies, such as the relations and conditions of production in uneven and combined development.

Theories of permanent revolution which consider the relative dynamics of such social tendencies have dealt with the coincidence of the national and proletarian-class revolutions when the sub-proletarian classes are allied to the proletarian revolution and the national-bourgeoisie becomes compromised by its international relations; as in the proposition of Lev Davidovitch Bronstein. However, no further refinements have taken into consideration the interaction of social pulsations arising from distinct living phenomenon composed of the national consciousness in the Commune, together with the possible contradiction introduced by any another national consciousness inherent to

that common Society. The lack of analysis in this respect has been a consequence of national contradictions being hidden within the Society and the Nation itself when the probability that Society and the Nation would be composed of other nationalities in addition to its common cultural consciousness, has not been considered. In effect, the global migrations of humanity since at least 60,000 years from within the African continent, passing out onto the other continents as well, has generated not only distinct nations, but also the inter-penetration of various nations to create a heterogeneous national composition, in which dual nationality is not uncommon⁹⁹. This process of both national integration and national identification also comprises the sense of the Inter-National/s concept. In the Zionist perspective of Jabotinsky though, it is the principle of separation that inspires his proposition for "redistributing minorities".¹⁵⁹ Just as the Zionist project proposes to reverse the process of historical migration of the Jewish people by the 'ingathering/arising/aliya', he proposes the voluntary expulsion of the Palestinian Arab population even though they remain a majority of the land's population. Such a proposal is generalized to include all minorities so as to suit the self-definition of the Nation-States.

As in Chapter I, The 'Common Will' of Hegel and the 'General Will' of Rousseau are the two conceptions which dominate the Modern Era. The Common Will pertains to the Nation while the General Will refers to the

¹⁵⁹ Jabotinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

citizenry of a State, so leading to their possible contradiction. That is, a certain precise differentiation must be made between the Hegelian concept of the Common Will and the Rousseauian General Will, as the former is concerned with national-identity itself, and the latter is concerned with the Civil Society as formed by the citizenry - without reference to nationality. In effect the two are opposed to one another in their nature rather than being similar, as may be implied. This national conception and the individualist perspective share an exclusive tendency though towards only one focus, themselves. While Rousseau presents the notion of the State as being upheld for a pluralist alternative to the uniformity introduced by the model of the Nation, it has fallen to the homogenization induced by the dominant/majoritarian nationality. The proposition for an alternative to this impasse is based upon both these conceptions being fused in a pluralist civil society thus allowing for national-cultural autonomy and other collective identities, in federation. This dynamic method of operation would be interactive between national identities in a pluralist setting with multiple foci. Such is the natural equilibrium found in the ellipse of the animal's egg, or the planet's orbit, and so also acts Civil Society which remains in perpetual change even while the traditional is preserved.

The need for an alternative set of national relations is based in the nature of national self-determination which has been demonstrated to fail as a principle in two respects; the inevitable context of another national

formation presenting its self-determination in opposition to its hegemony, together with the question of which of the two authorities determines a unitary national identity. As such, the constitutional possibility of 'sovereignty-association' in the Canadian context is consequently dependent upon the construction of a pluralist society (civil society) taking the place of the Canadian State. Such a Canadianization process is taking longer than the parallel process in Québec amongst the Kébécois/ze, a circumstance which can thus be expected to result in the independence of Québec. However, each of these two social dynamics nurture the other, as has been the experience in the past.

The Eastern Mediterranean region (or the Levant) is far more problematic and presents the prospect of wars and civil wars, between the Palestinians and the State of Israel, regionally, amongst Israelis themselves, as well as amongst the Palestinians.

The end of Zionist hegemony is becoming apparent for both external and internal reasons. It may be said that Zionism has defeated itself by having killed its State's personification, its Prime Minister. The Statesman, Yitzhak Rabin, was without a doubt an astute Zionist who was nonetheless obliged to offer up recognition to the Palestinian Nation, first of all due the progression of the first Intifada of 1987-90, and secondly due to the world-wide opposition to the occupation and the internally widespread disillusionment with Zionism

amongst the Jewish People. Due to this induced transformation in Jewish consciousness, based on the obligation to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Zionist ideologues have sought to reverse the definitive crisis it has provoked for Zionism as an ideology. However, the manifestation of Zionist ideology in the assassination of the Israeli Prime Minister confirmed its actuality; that ideology being a rationale for the utility of war, the purpose of which is to gain from the weaker what is denied by the stronger. It is the manifestation and legitimization of public murder, the will to assassinate Rabin or destroy any other impediment to its ultimate objective of 'Greater Israel'. This impediment has and does continue to be the Palestinian residents of 'the Territories' (the West Bank (Jordan), Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Gaza (Egypt)), now named the OPT (Occupied Palestinian Territories). This ideologic will to dominate and destroy was once also practised and promoted by Rabin. The Oslo I & II agreements with their subsequent negotiation process provided for the State of Israel's best options at that time, even though their provisions were not implemented. This strategy is outlined originally in the proposal named the Allon Plan, designed to satisfy the Labour Alignment's commitment to partial withdrawal at the time of the occupation in 1967. This sort of administrative management is modelled, it would seem, on Apartheid.

The alternative prospect of a truly bi-national society would require each national entity being prepared to enter into treaty with the partner, in reciprocity ('shytvis'₁₀₀) based on their own mutual constitutional framework.

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NOTES

CHAPTER V

JEWISH NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ZIONIST IDEOLOGY

1. Rabbi J.I. Schneersohn, *The "Tzemach Tzedek" and the Haskala Movement*, Brooklyn, 'Kehot' Publication Society, 1969 {5729}.
2. 16. Letter to the B'nai Brith lodge of Vienna, 1926, in Ernst L. Freud (ed.), *Letters of Sigmund Freud*, 1879-1939, 367 -68; cited in Pulzer, *Jews*, p. 12.
3. The city of Jerusalem for example was founded before the arrival of the Hebrews, by the nation of Jebusites, some 500 years before, i.e. having 3,500 years of history.
4. Minister Allon provided the framework for the exclusion and annexation of the occupied territories of 1967 during the initial Labour Alignment government of the 1970's, a plan which has taken on various guises and has become known as the Egypt-Israel Peace Agreement, Baker proposals, Camp David, Sharm el-Shek, Taba, The Saudi initiative, The Road Plan, or The Geneva Initiative.

5. This phrase was initially composed by the Jewish territorialist writer Israel Zangweil, who did not intend it as a reference to the territory of Palestine and who subsequently left the Zionist movement.

6. The ruins of the Muqata (governmental centre) of Nablus and Ramallah were in full view during my visit to Palestine in March-June 2003. At the entry point to Ramallah, the Israel's DCO (District Commanding Officer) Check-point displayed the Nazi-like command 'Achtung'.

7. See reference to the differing story of Haj'jar and Ishmael in *The Story of J*, *op. cit.*, which does not refer to banishment. See also the essay, 'The Abrahamic Tradition', in the Appendix E of this work.

8. See the essay 'The Abrahamic Tradition' in the Appendix E of this work. Note that Hebrew is a Babylonian Sumerian dialect that endured in Canaan as a written script which metamorphosed from/with Aramaic into Arabic.

The association of Hebrew as the one and only national language of the Jewish nation is historically arbitrary. The Hebrew language served as a language of record, a written standard suitable for communication in perpetuity in spite of the changing nature of oral discourse.

9. 9. Foucher, Michel, *Fronts et Frontières, un tour du monde géopolitique*. Paris, Fayard, 530 p. 1991.

10. It was in France that "thought was applied at the time of the Revolution of an overall design of the border as a line of coincidence between the

contours of all fundamental space but different, the State and the Nation" said Michel Foucher (9). For this geographer, "the emergence of the nation-state, results from a superposition establishing the ideological interaction between territory and nation (nation in the sense, again, thinking of civil society as the origin of political sovereignty)".

11. « Tout en gardant un souvenir de la Terre d'Israël, le peuple juif n'a jamais été défini par la terre. Fidèle à son sens de l'humour, Leibowitz remarque que les juifs n'ont jamais constitué « un peuple de la terre », l'expression hébraïque « am ha-arets » qui signifie « ignare, inculte ». » of Yakov Rabkin's *Au nom de la Torah*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

12. "Judeophobia is a psychic aberration. As a psychic aberration, 'it is hereditary; as a disease transmitted for two thousand years it is incurable'. (Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation*, quoted in Hertzberg 1973: 185; emphasis added) found in *Apartheid Israel : Possibilities for the Struggle Within* by Uri Davis, p. 11.

13. A concrete example is that of the municipality of Tosher , near Bois Brillant in Québec where the Chassidic 'Samtar' community has been favoured with municipal autonomy by the nationalist Parti Québécois government. Other territorialities are at St-Agathe des Monts (Québec) [since displaced] Hisachdus-Hayereim / Lev Tahor / Jewish Embassy, Monsey (New York State), and in Brooklyn, N.Y.

14. See the essay Nations dans le Contexte Inter-National, in the Appendix D of this work.

15. Considering the democratic composition of the Israel's State population, one may point out the cultural balance as differentiated from the national image, as indicative. The composition of the Israeli Jewish population is in large part of Sepharade or Mizrachi origin, so leaving an Ashkenazi minority within 1967 Israel frontiers, taking into consideration the Israeli Arab-Palestinian population let alone the general composition of the entire population. The potential for an Arabic cultural coincidence arising from the common cultural origin of Jewish and Palestinian communities provides an underlying dynamic that has yet to make its appearance. In addition such a demographic deconstruction points to the undemocratic nature of the political representation in the State and government.

16. *Der Judenstat*, *op.cit.*, p. 30, or *The Jews' State : A Critical English Translation*, Theodor Herzl, translated and with an introduction by Henk Overberg, Jason Aronson inc., Northvale, N.J., Jerusalem, 1997, p. 149 .

17. In reference to the biblical prophecies of the Revelation in 'John' and the Book of 'Daniel'; "A 17th century example is the Danish writer Holger Paulli and other Christians like him, who preached the return of the Jews to Zion from motives of Christian millennialism", 'The Forerunners of Zionism', pp. 10-21, by Jacob Katz, *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, number 7, Spring 1978, The Middle East Institute, Jerusalem, p. 15. (see *Zionism and Arab Resistance*, Palestine Research Center, The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, *Zionism & Arab Human Rights*, Dr. Ass'ad Razzouk, (1968) 1973, p. 37; and, *L'Esprit Sioniste : Origines et développement de la pensée sioniste*, Alan R. Taylor, Institut des Études Palestiniennes, Beyrouth, Liban, 1977, p. 36.)!

The Puritans, who founded the first colonies of the USA carried the biblical zealousness for Zionist restorationism and the Revelation prophecies

from the time of Cromwell, so forming the political culture of the USA. The Anglican propensity for the conversion and restoration of the English Jewish population into Palestine is similar to the settlement of northern Ireland by the Scottish subjects of the British Crown.

18. As in Harrington's *Clash of Civilizations*.

19. Remember that Zionism is based on organic nationalisms of Central and Eastern Europe where the nationalist struggle created a state and therefore a legal and policy framework for the nation that already exists. Their ties with the exclusive aspects of German nationalism, Polish or Ukrainian leaves lasting influences on the Zionist movement and Israeli society that succeeds in creating the Land of Israel. [...] The principled opposition to the existence of the State of Israel is shared by many currents of religious Zionism. The issue is not the territory of Israel - before or after 1967 - but the mere fact of becoming a nation in the political sense by imposing Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel. A Liberal Rabbi conceptualizes opposition in a manner similar to that of a Hasidic rabbi because their reading of the Torah, flax from clear, because they reject the transformation of Jews into a national entity in the European sense.

20. 1. Cited in *Viewpoint*, March 1974, p. 46.

21. "The *Angriff*, the organ of Dr. Goebbels, has published a full-page interview with Georg Kareski, the Jew who has accepted office under the Nazi Government as Reich Commissioner for Jewish Cultural Affairs. [...]

"(1) Question: 'Do you know, Herr Director Kareski, that our Leader and Chancellor has, in justifying the Nuremberg laws, expressed the hope that

through this secular solution a basis may be established for a tolerable relationship between the German and Jewish people? ...'

"Reply: 'That is so. I have for many years regarded a complete separation between the cultural activities of the two peoples as a condition for a peaceful collaboration and I have always been in favor of such a separation, provided it is founded on the respect for the alien nationality'". 'Georg Kareski Approves of Ghetto Laws: Interview in Dr. Goebbels', 'Angriff', *Jewish Chronicle*, London, January 3, 1936, pp. 155-156 in Lenni Brenner (ed.), *51 Documents, op cit.*, p. 155.

Georg Kareski was a member of the Revisionist Zionist tendency up to and including the year 1947.

22. As in its derivation mentioned in Chapter I, Section 1.4.2 'Fichte's Nation'; it is separation and its consequent segregation that are at the root of oppression. The principle of separation has been institutionalized in various guises. The former Apartheid regime of South Africa (Azania) conceived of Bantustans in addition to urban segregation on the model of the Jewish Ghetto existence of Russia together with its Pale of Settlement (as in beyond the Pale of the English expression when referring to the island of Ireland). The Pale takes on concrete expression as well in the constructions of the Hadrian's Wall by the Roman Empire to keep the 'barbarian' Celts out of their former territories in Britain. It even came to pass that a second wall to the north was built as soon as further territories could be conquered. Currently the historical continuation of that wall is present in Belfast.

Another historic example of the 'Separation Wall' construction is the Great Wall of China which was also built to keep out the 'barbarians'. Next in line has been the famous Berlin Wall against the barbarism of capitalism. More recently there is the Zionist Apartheid Wall in the 1967 occupied territories of the West Bank being built to drive back the Oriental presence

in the Holy Land. Not very well known is the separation fence along the US-Mexican border, not yet a wall.

Note the reference to the Wall by Vladimir Jabotinsky's *The Iron Wall*;

Zionist colonization, even the most restricted, must either be terminated or carried out in defiance of the will of the native population. This colonization can, therefore, continue and develop only under the protection of a force independent of the local population – an iron wall which the native population cannot break through. This is, 'in toto', our policy towards the Arabs. To formulate it any other way would only be hypocrisy [...]

Appendix 1, Uri Davis, *Apartheid Israel*, London & New York, Zed Books, 2003, p. 200.

23. Memoranda of the Zionist Federation for Germany, June 21, 1933: 'In Zwei Welten: Siegfried Moses zum Fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag', Hans Tramer (ed.), Tel Aviv, 1962, pp. 114-127. Translated from the German by George Salomon. Note from p. 389, *A Holocaust Reader*, *op. cit.*

24. It may be noted that the Hebrew word for Nation in reference to Egypt uses an accented letter rather than the letter, so denoting a different sense to the same word when chanted, as in the oral tradition.

25. Nietzsche's Übermensch relates to civil society as the State does, as a tool while Maimonides has a symbiotic relation which nurtures civil society as the Petri dish for Prophets.

The astonishing amalgam of the two, despite their contradictions, presents the basis for the Zionist fundamentalist current which presently comprise a body of 10,000 declared sympathizers in the IDF (Israel Defence

Force).

26. The notion of 'by all means necessary' is oftentimes taken as an absolute when actually its sense may rather be gleaned from the expression, 'by all means necessary, but not necessarily by any means'.

27. The name 'Ad_nai' seems to be derived from the African language 'Waloof' which is spoken in Senegal and contains the word 'Adona', meaning 'life'. There are five Hebrew text names for the deity, and the fifth, read at Rosh Hashonah, refers to 'the father who is king'. The ties to the Pharaonic dynasty are thus open to consideration.

28. S.H. Hooske, *Middle Eastern Mythology*, Great Britain, Penguin Books, 1973, p. 147.

29. [...] being considered as having lost the 'Father', denoted as well that the Jewish People were considered to be equivalent to non-believers. Officially the Holy Roman empire of Emperor Constantine, the first Roman Pope of the Roman Catholic Church, considered the Jewish people to be equivalent to atheists. As official heretics the Church launched the first Crusades to justify and fulfil its conception of identity and to monopolize the strategic land mass in the eastern Mediterranean.

30. As in the old Québec, the Church leadership developed a national ideology which argued: 'It is not necessary that we possess money and industry. We will no longer be French Canadians, but Americans almost like the others. Our mission is to possess the earth and spread ideas. ...' (Wade, 1964: 48) [see footnote].

31. See the essay 'The Abrahamic Tradition' in Appendix E.
32. The version 'J' of the Torah, considered to be from the time of Solomon's court and to have been edited by a woman (a sister of Solomon), recounts the story of Haj'jar in a significantly different light. Haj'jar is driven away by Sarah with her son Ishmael until they are directed by divine intervention to remain with Abraham, which she does. See *The Book of J*, translated by David Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, p. 80.
33. Avrum ben Terah came from the land of 'Arum Naharayim' in between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, forming a region in the Babylonian empire (Iraq).
34. See *Sabra and Shatila*, a documentary study by eibie (abraham) Weisfeld (Weizfeld), Ottawa, Jerusalem International Publishing House, (1984) 2009.
35. Written as pronounced in the original Algonquin language - meaning the land of the passageway. Some of the original French writers wrote the name of the territory as Kébec.
36. It is notable that Bronstein had the prescience to postulate the collapse of the Russian Bolshevik State due to its lack of a world revolutionary perspective; a lack associated with Stalin.
37. J.G. Herder, *Social and Political Culture*, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
vices and virtues alternating like climates, perfections sprouting and dying like spring leaves, human customs and preferences strewn

about like leaves of fate. No plan! No progress, but an endless revolution!

38. 'Pale of Settlement', established by Czarist decrees in 1791 & 1882; see map following from, *le sionisme contre israël*, nathan weinstock, Paris, Librarie François Maspero, 1969. [see map page following]



Les zones d'implantation juive en Russie
suivant les résultats du recensement de 1887

Jewish community areas in Russia according to the census of 1887

The Zones of residence in
Russia according to the census
results of 1887

('Pales of Settlement')

39. The Autonomous Republic of Birobijan was the Bolshevik government's means in 1928 of offering a concession to the Jewish national movement. The initiative in this matter was taken by Central Committee member Kalinin.

40. See Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, p. 277, especially Chapter 31.

41. See notes # 19 & 8.

42. 'Septuagint' noun a Greek version of the Hebrew Bible (or Old

Testament), including the Apocrypha, produced in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Origin from Latin septuaginta 'seventy', because of the tradition that it was produced by seventy-two translators working independently", Oxford University Press WordPerfect 10 Dictionary.

43. * Cf. Dubnow, *Dibre yeme yisrael badorot haahoronim*, Berlin-Tel Aviv, 1923, vol. 1, par.22.

44. 5. Hannah Arendt, 'Antisemitism', *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, *op. cit.*, 1968, p. 11.

45. 4. Martin Luther in Paul Lawrence Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner*, pp. 6-7.

46. James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, New York, Columbia University Press.

47. Vladimir Jabotinsky discusses the fiction of social equality in the Liberal format in his *The Jewish War Front*, Westport, CN, Greenwood Press, pp. 57-58, 84, Chapter X 'The Philosophy of Equal Rights', pp. 101-113. In his perspective the roots of Judaeophobia lay in the subjective composition of the general population and as such was unreformable and inevitable rather than a feature of the nation-state superstructure forming the incubator of such consciousness.

48. It would be interesting to pursue the analysis of these tendencies, particularly in the work achieved by Edgar Bauer, *Der Streit der Kritik mit Kirche*

und Staat : mit Anhang, (Critic of Church and State) of 1844, a work for which he was executed.

49. That which differentiates the societies without a State from those societies with a State, is that in the first cases the power is exercised by the totality of the social body while in the second case the power is extracted from the social body in order to install itself in the matrix of an institution specialized in the monopolistic exercise of power.

50. Unfortunately Bronstein did not pay head to the national-identity in Georgia even when directed to do so by Lenin, against the inclination of Stalin. This displays a propensity on Bronstein's part to only recognize national-identity when the matter of independence is imminent due to a Statist conception of national independence.

51. Founded in Vilna in October 1897, Der algemeyner yidisher arbeterbund in Rusland, Lite, un Poyln (the General Jewish Labour Federation [Bund] in Russia Lithuania and Poland).

52. It is important to note here that the terms 'Président' and President referred to above do not entirely coincide in meaning because the French language logic to the term is that of a Bureau of the secretariat or, a secretary function, rather than a head of State.

Some similarities are apparent with the Jamahiriya Society founded in Libya, 1969.

53. See also Henry J. Tobias, *The Jewish Bund in Russia*, Stanford University Press, 1972 and Ezra Medelsohn, *Class Struggle in the Pale*, Cambridge,

Cambridge University Press, 1970.

54. See O. Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, Vienna, 1907, p. 353.

55. See Patkin, *The Origins of the Russian-Jewish Labour Movement*, p. 145; also, *De Geshichte fun Bund*, 1:180-81.

56. 1. International Labour Organization, 1993, *Draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples as adopted by the working group on indigenous population*, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/29 Annex.C.

57. Ahad Ha'am addresses the issue of assimilation and alludes to the Judaeocide by prescience;

What, then, must we do to escape from this national hatred?

Assimilate with the nations? If real assimilation be meant – the assimilation that reaches to the very soul and ends in annihilation – that is a kind of death which does not come of itself, and we do not wish to bring it on by our own efforts.

From the essay 'Pinsker and Political Zionism', 1902, in *Nationalism and the Jewish Ethic*, *op. cit.*, p. 98, sub-footnote: Pinsker, *Autoemancipation*, p. 15 [17.].

58. The writings of Dr. Leo Pinsker seem not to have been translated from German into any other language other than Hebrew. See *Autoemancipation* :

Mahnruf an seine Stammesgenossen, DS 149 P55 1903 and *Otoemantsipatsyah* DS149 P5515 1951 initially published 1882. According to Dubnow, p. 332 of his *History*, Pinsker was predisposed to defining the term 'Nation' as a territorial and political organism.

59. See note #7 Vol. III p. 495 Dubnow's *History*, Leon Shapiro makes reference to G. Solveytchik, *Potemkin*, London, Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1940.

60. See Hans Kohn's article 'Zion and the Jewish National Idea' in the *Menorah Journal*, Autumn-Winter issue, 1958.

61. Dubnow in his *History* Vol. III, p. 83 mentions that Herzl operated as a collaborator of the Tzarist minister Plehve. In 1903 Theodor Herzl traveled to Russia for two lengthy meetings with the Czar's interior minister, Wjatcheslaw Plehwe, the man believed responsible for the notorious massacre of Jews at Kishinev. According to Herzl's diary (August 10 and 14) Plehwe told him, "You don't have to justify your movement to me. You are preaching to a convert...The creation of an independent Jewish state capable of absorbing several million Jews would suit us best of all".

62. 15. Alfred M. Lilienthal, *What Price Israel?*, 50th Anniversary edition, 2003, p. 148.

63. Max Nordau makes the practical arrangement for Zionist guardianship over the Suez Canal a matter of service to the imperial benefactor in his work, *op. cit.*, p. 272, « [...] d'être l'appui de l'autorité britannique ».

64. This is in effect what occurred during the war of 1947-49 when the Zionist Plan Dalad was instituted and the UNO Partition plan was ignored so as to occupy those lands in excess of the allocated territory for the Zionist State up to the Green Line when the Arab forces came to halt the Zionist advance. By example the furthest advance made by the Iraqi forces at the time was to Jenin on the 'Green Line'. The historical research into these events has been documented by Zionists and non-Zionists of the new historians in the State of Israel:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| Simha Flapan, | <i>The Birth of Israel, Myth and Realities</i> , NY, Pantheon Books, 1987, |
| Tom Segev, | <i>1949. The First Israelis.</i> , NY, Free Press McMillan, 1986, |
| Avi Shlaim, | <i>Collusion Across the Jordan : King Abdellah, The Zionist Movement and the Partition of Palestine</i> , Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, |
| Ilan Pappé, | <i>Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951</i> , NY, I.B. Tauris, 1992, |
| Benny Morris, | <i>The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949</i> , Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, |
| Benny Morris, | <i>1948 and After. Israel and the Palestinians</i> , Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990. |

65. From Rev Munib A. Younan, the Palestinian Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Jerusalem and the Holy Land and Martin Luther, as reported in the Jordan Times (6 Oct. 1999). Excerpted in IMRA (Independent Media Review & Analysis, imra@netvision.net.il) posting October 10, 1999 10:21, < <http://www.imra.org.il/> >.

66. The political document 'Socialism and the Jewish Revolution' of Eric Lee in *The New International Review*, is a social-democratic manifesto of the neo-conservative current which includes this particular tendency of the Jewish pro-Zionist current which finds its allies in the plethora of Occidental democratic nation-states professing secular-Christianity. The call for permanent revolution for democratic nation-states in the 'Oriental Despotism', also found in the same publication, denotes a precursor to the Huntington scenario, the 'neo-con' phenomena and the W. Bush II announcements of a crusade into Babylon. In this way the social-democratic tendency of the Marxian Second International makes its theoretical contribution the current international policy. In this lies the political foundation of the Israel Labour Party with the Likud in coalition. The rationalization presented, to entice the Jewish socialists away from their professed Inter-nationals perspective, has dominated political discourse for some decades, although it is now confronted by the Jewish anti-occupation movement internationally.

Note; "The next stage for the Jewish revolution following the end of the state of war is carrying out permanent revolution throughout the Middle East. The Democratic Revolution in the Arab world has already begun", p. 23, and, "It is in the self-interest of the Jews to promote a social revolution in the Arab world. Only a democratic Arab world can guarantee Israel's security. Thus when Israel promotes the weakening of Oriental despotism, whether in its old Islamic variant or its new, Ba'ath-Communist variety it acts in its own self-interest while simultaneously benefiting the whole world", p. 26, 'Socialism and the Jewish Revolution (Part II)', *The New International Review*, Volume Two, Number One, New York, Fist and Rose Publishers, Inc., 1978.

In addition, the theory of Oriental Despotism according to Wittfogel

served to provide a critique of the Stalinist State and Party without conceding to the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution, as applied to China and Russia. Rather than a socialist permanent revolution Wittfogel's thesis called for a bourgeois-democratic permanent revolution. While the theoretical context for this discussion was set out by Trotsky's theory, no such mention was made in the political setting of the time. The political fallout of the Marxist-Stalinist school resulting from the implosion of contradictions was carried into the stepping stones of the current neo-conservative bank of intelligence.

The justification, explanation or a perceived inevitability of the Communist Party centralized State is found in the necessity for an organizational stage not provided for by a preceding history of capitalist development, if one assumes the necessity of historical stages of development in the mode of production.

67. From Ahad Ha'Am, *Igrot Ahad Ha-'Am*, Jerusalem, Yavneh, 1925, VI, 216, 221, 222, 232, 233. Moshe Menuhin's translation from Ahad Ha-'Am's Hebrew translation of Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* in German.

68. The earlier edition of the *Torah* (teaching) the version 'J' from the period 950-900 BCE, does not include the g~dly command for the annihilation of the indigenous inhabitants of Canaan nor the banishment of Hajar and Ismail - as in the later Ezra version of 850-800 BCE. See source, *The Book of J*, David Rosenberg translator, introduction and commentary by Harold Bloom, New York, Grove Weidenfeld, 1990.

69. Reference to Pinsker taken from Jacob Raisin, *The Haskalah Movement in Russia*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1914, pp. 282-

83.

70. See 'National-Cultural Autonomy and 'Neutrality' : Vladimir Medem's Marxist Analysis of the National Question', pp. 69-92 1903-1920, by Roni Grechtman, *Socialist Studies : The Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies*, Volume 3, Number 1, Spring 2007, p. 71.

71. 'Open Letter to the Minister of Information Mr. Y. Galili', by Professor Jacob Talmon, pp. 4-23, *The Israel-Arab Conflict (an exchange of views)*, Tel Aviv, The World Labour Zionist Movement, p. 4,

In the report of your speech at the Council of the Kibbutz Meuhad, your words are quoted as follows: 'We do not consider the Arabs in the country an ethnic category, a public of special national character within this land'. Similar words have also been used in the resolutions taken by the Council.

72. 'The Zionist Federation For Germany Addresses the New German State', pp. 150-154, *A Holocaust Reader*, Lucy S. Dawidowicz (ed.), Library of Jewish Studies, New York, Behrman House, inc., 1976, and, Lenny Brenner (ed.), *51 Documents Zionist Collaboration with the Nazis*, Fort Lee, New Jersey, Barricade Books, 2002.

73. Vladimir Solovyev, 'The Justification of the Good. An Essay in Moral Philosophy', St. Petersburg, 1897, [Engl. Translation by N.A. Duddington, New York, 1918].

Solovyev, 'The National Question in Russia', St. Petersburg, 1884, 2d ed., 1894. See also his article 'The National Movement' in the *Brockhaus-Efron Encyclopaedia*.

74. eibie(abraham) Weizfeld, *The End of Zionism : and the Liberation of The Jewish People*, op. cit., p. 115.

75. Evidence of such research if accomplished, is not well known.

76. This figure as well has not been seen to be reported although it is the consensual figure among Jewish survivor escapees to Russia.

77. See the titles of Lenny Brenner's listed in the Bibliography and Resource Guide.

78. The current manifestation of such reaction and the resurgence of typical Judaeophobia is found in *The Passion of the Christ* by director Mel Gibson much like the idolization of the previous *Jesus Christ Superstar*, as well as the increasing numbers of attacks upon the Jewish communities in various countries. 'Violent attacks on British Jews hit record high' By Reuters in the February 10, 2005 Adar 1 1, 5765 HAARETZ.com reports that,

The Community Safety Trust, which represents Britain's 290,000-strong Jewish community on security matters, said there had been 532 'anti-Semitic incidents' - defined as malicious acts toward Jews - in 2004, including a record 83 assaults.

The total, which included abuse and threats, was a rise of 42 percent from the CST's 2003 figure, and well above the previous record high of 405 in 2000.

79. 'Zinoviev' was the pseudonym/'non de guerre' for Radomyslsky, 'Kamenev' for Rozenfeld and 'Trotsky' for Bronstein.

80. See also the Bundist article by V. Medem, 'Why I Am Against Zionism' (in *Di naye velt*, New York, July 16, 1920, p. 12; 'National-Cultural Autonomy and 'Neutralism' : Vladimir Medem's Marxist Analysis of the National Question, 1903-1920', pp. 69-92, Roni Grechtman, Mount Saint Vincent University, *Socialist Studies : The Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies*, Volume 3, Number 1, Spring 2007, Red Deer, Alberta, Canada, p. 73.) A compendium of Bundist documents and recent academic evaluations is to become available in the publication *Bundism*.

81. The Jewish conception of a Nation free of the State, would provide a disposition for the Anarchist conceptions of Society. We find, for example, in the *Samizdat* of V. Litvinov (*op. cit.*, 'Nestor Makhno et La Question Juive', pp. 15-16),

Dans les structures sociales de la Russie tsariste, la population juive, comme nous le savons déjà, fut l'une des plus opprimées et des plus asservies. Par ailleurs, parmi tous les peuples asservis, les juifs, grâce à certaines particularités de leur héritage historique et culturel, furent davantage enclins à une perception philosophique de la réalité, et qui plus est ceci fut vrai pour la communauté juive dans son ensemble, c'es-à-dire aussi bien pour ses dignitaires que pour ses simples travailleurs habitant les petites bourgades. Il est clair par conséquent que dès la création du mouvement anarcho-communiste en Russie, les premiers qui y adhérèrent furent les représentants de la population juive les plus actifs dans la lutte sociale et pour qui l'instauration du « royaume de Di_u » sur terre était imminente. En outre, c'est le milieu juif qui a fourni les principaux cadres des organisations anarcho-communistes.

[...] le premier groupe anarcho-communiste fondé à la veille même de la révolution de 1905 fut le groupe «Combat» à Biaystok, composé en majorité de juifs et dirigé par des

représentants de l'intelligentsia juive.

Un rapport du service spécial du département de la police mentionne que « les frères Broumer, Rubinstein, Pikis, Kaplan (française), Rakovsky, Koupritz, Treivich, Kagan, Tyktyn, Choikh, Tsitron » en faisaient partie (3). Le tableau est analogue dans les organisations annexes du groupe de Biaystok créées par ce dernier à Grodno, Bielsko, Zabłudow, Choroszcz, Trostiany et en d'autres endroits encore.

Des représentants de la jeunesse juive révolutionnaire furent les fondateurs des organisations anarchistes à Odessa, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslaw et dans les régions respectives de ces centres industriels. Là, le fondement national de l'anarcho-communisme fut bien plus vaste qu'à Biaystok ou ailleurs à cause du mode de vie sédentaire des juifs, quoique même à Biaystok les révolutionnaires juifs jouèrent un rôle primordial dans le mouvement anarchiste.

(3) C.G.A.C.R., *Département de police, fond 102, registre 600 pour l'année 1904, feuillet 156.*

82. See Ber Borochov who became an anarchist socialist in his *Nationalism and the Class Struggle*, *op. cit.*, note 21, p. 48.

83. See *La Fausse Route*, a work opposed to the territorial statism of political Zionism, as well as *Le Judaïsme et Nietzsche*.

84. See Einstein's essays on this and other political matters.

85. See his *The Decadence of Judaism In Our Time*.

86. See also, Baruch Knei-Paz, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, pp. 550-551.

87. See also Archives, T₃₉₇₃. See *Forwaerts*, 28 January 1937, pp. 6, 8, for another correspondent's account. See also, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, *Ibid.*, pp. 550-551.

88. See Chapter I discussion on the relations of production, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle : A Marxian Approach to The Jewish Problem : Selected writings* by Ber Borochov, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1973 as well as Herder's Reflections on *The Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 142, for the discussion on 'economic Orders' and nations.

89. Taking into consideration the possible Jewish population at this time without the Holocaust's consequences, the Jewish People would have numbered 35 million, rather than the current 14 million of 2014.

90. Jabotinsky makes this precisely his argument in his Chapter XIII, 'Two State Projects Outside Palestine', pp. 139-151, and Chapter XIV, 'The Fata Morgana Land', pp. 152-164, *The Jewish War Front*, note #43.

91. See Hans Kohn's article 'Zion and the Jewish National Idea' in the *Menorah Journal*, Autumn-Winter issue, 1958.

92. Sub-footnote: Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1950, p. 263.

93. The Nov./Dec. 2004 issue of *OUTLOOK* Vol. 42 No. 6, Vancouver,

pp. 16-17, 'Review : Binationalism Revisited', by Reuven Shultz and Neil Caplan makes reference to a number of sources on binationalism; a debate initiated by Tony Judt in the *New York Review of Books*, October 23, 2003, 'Israel : The Alternative', followed by Leon Wieseltier's denunciation of the Bi-National Fantasy in *The New Republic* of October 27, 2003. The Judt piece was reprinted in the book *Prophets Outcast : A Century of Dissident Jewish Writing about Zionism and Israel*, edited and introduced by Adam Shatz, New York, Nation Books, 2004.

Norman Epstein's essay in *OUTLOOK*, May-June 2004, pp.12-14, 'The Other Zionists', provides a summary of the pre-1948 binationalist school of thought. The activist politician Meron Benvenisti presented his binationalist Thesis in an article of *Ha-Aretz*, *Haaretz*, November 7, 2002 in 'The Binational Option'.

94. However Kadhafi demonstrated his opportunist strategies by upholding the massacre of Gaza in 2008 to justify his regime's military suppression of the Libyan People's revolt exemplified by the Libyan Transitional Council in Benghazi.

95. See *The Idea of Nationalism*, Hans Kohn, pp. 574-576.

This is the differentiation between the nation and nationalism which stops at the gates of Zionism.

96. See Appendix E, 'TOPOLOGY OF POLITICAL CULTURE : TERMS, NAMES AND CONCEPTS'.

97. Gender relations among the Mohawks of the Five Nation confederation;

Women shall be considered the progenitors of the Nation. They shall own the land and the soil.

The Constitution of the Five Nations, 60-LX, TLL, in Parker (1916) (also in Sanday 1987 (1981): 13).

Gender relations among the Five Nations were complementary, if not egalitarian. In this horticultural society women were the main labourers; they were in charge of the "ingenious methods of preserving and storing the abundant food supplies. Corn, meat, fish, berries, squashes, and even fats were preserved" (Brown 1975: 250). Iroquoian women have been noted for their influence on all aspects of the Five Nations Confederation. This is reflected in the foundation-myth or oral history of the confederation and in its constitution. One version of the legendary Deganawidah [cited as Danekawida, in the version cited above, page 4] foundation story of the league of Five Nations, attributes to his grandmother the very idea of the League;

Before Dganawidah's birth, his name and mission were disclosed to his grandmother in a dream in which she was visited by a messenger from the Great Spirit. The messenger instructed the grandmother that when Deganawidah reached manhood she was to 'place no obstacle in his way when he desires to leave home to spread the New Mind among the nations'

Sanday 1987 (1981), pp. 25-26. (Also Wallace 1946P: 11).

Arthur C. Parker, 1916, 'The constitution of the Five Nations', *New York State Museum Bulletin 184*, Albany, University of the State of New York.
Peggy Reeves Sanday, 1987 (1981), *Female power and male dominance : On the origins of sexual inequality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

From Sima Sprahamian, 'Gender, Class, Race and Colonialism : The Case of the Mohawk-Iroquois Nation', A Preliminary Rough Draft of Paper to be

presented at the 1991 Learned Societies Conference, Queen's University, at Kingston, June 1, 1991, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University.

98. Taking note of the alignment of the Kuomintang party with the Military occupation by Japan during the second European World War. This marks the division between the bourgeois-aristocratic class and the countervailing national revolution (koming keming) so resulting in the 1949 Chinese socialist revolution.

See Trotsky's *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects*, as well as Stuart Schram's work.

99. For example the Jewish Nation, being symbolized by the six-pointed star, displays the inter-penetration of two equilateral triangles. ☆ The inter-penetration of opposites. By way of example, the Ashkenazi and Sepharade communities or, what is referred to as hyphenated Canadianism, a bi-national or duel nation-identity.

100. The Jiddish/Yiddish word for reciprocity, as spoken in a question to Yigdal Allon at York University, Toronto, ~1975, see tape archives Jewish People's Liberation Organization (JPLO).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

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6.1 Conclusions in general

6.1.1 Structural Dynamics and Political Economy

The examination of the State reveals a mode of social organization that seeks to justify itself for its own sake, as a self-perpetuating organization that feeds itself to the point where it is suffocating under a mountain of debt to the beneficiaries to which it is beholden. This phenomenon places the State in contradiction to its social base, since the Society is constrained by the fiscal crisis to be governed more so by the economic policies of its institutional lenders than by its electorate. Where the institutional lenders are based extraterritorially, they are apart from the jurisdiction of that given State and so aligned with some competing State; as a result an additional competitive disadvantage is placed upon the State by the fiscal crisis. This is the condition of the Canadian State, as well as many other dependencies. Thus a further aspect of alienation from the State is put into place by the contradictions presented in fiscal dependency, which oblige that administration to act in concert with influences not integral to the society from which it derives and to which it does not consent. These then are two further factors leading to the currently rampant Fragmentation.

A third destabilizing factor is the operation of those firms called 'Transnational' corporations. Notwithstanding their designation as existing above the State, these economic entities arise in a particular State and are symbiotically interlaced with their home based State structure. There are also

vertically interlaced with those corporations in whose territory they exert their presence as a subsidiary, in a parasitic capacity.

Underlying that economic system of international relations, Rosa Luxembourg points to that;

contradiction entre ce fondement économique commun unissant chaque jour plus solidement et étroitement tous les peuples en une grande totalité et la superstructure politique des États qui cherchent à diviser artificiellement les peuples, [...] hostiles les uns aux autres.¹

thus emphasizing the Global economic network as a tendency generating a common interest of all Peoples, who are nonetheless divided into competitive State superstructures.

The State is thus surpassed by the corporation, though in the M.P.C. (Mode de Production Capitaliste), the State upholds the private corporate sector, leading the M.P.C. into contradiction with their sponsor. This is embellished further by Wallerstein as, "L'homogénéité nationale dans l'hétérogénéité internationale, c'est la formule d'une économie-monde."²

The superseding of the State by the Transnational corporation contributes to an inherent contradiction between the two, in the same instance as the State is placed in contradiction to its society. This 'scissors effect'³ of

¹ Hentsch et Piotte, *Le Système Mondial : Rapports internationaux et relations internationales*, Montréal, Matériaux/Nouvelle Optique, 1983, p. 28.

² Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, p. 126, see Poulantzas, p. 133, in Hentsch, *op. cit.*, see Hentsch p. 117, quote in note 134, *op. cit.*

³ Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol 1,2,3, London, Sphere Books, 1967.

a double contradiction operating in opposite directions presents the potential for the splitting-off of the nation and the society from under both the State and the oligopolistic multinational corporations. Apparently the nation is asserting its existence before the State that is too limited in its function to capture the national consciousness, being subject to the priorities of the multinationals. Nationalism ceases to function as ideology if the State is a dependency. The national revolution has the potential then to take on a strategic influence as a result, passing over into a position counterpoised to the Transnational firms, the State and the acquiescent local bourgeoisie. Such a national bourgeoisie is well integrated into the structure of the corporate subsidiaries, or is itself seeking to extend its sphere of operations in terms of exports or production contracts with its metropole.⁴ This potential for 'Permanent' transformation is due to the combined effects resulting from the addition of the alienation from the oligopolistic economic forces. The uneven development between the central State with its associated Transnationals versus their dependencies, within which their subsidiaries are operational, leads to a combined socio-economic revolution. The social and economic spheres come together in opposition to the imperial State and its compliant dependent State. This combined effect opens up a transformation liberating civil society and its national-cultures from the dependent State (see Alberto Martinelli, on the dilemma of a dependent State undermining itself by encouraging Transnational intervention).

As an illustration, in Canada, the movement for an independent Canadian economic policy proposed an industrial policy other than that of import-substitution, as has been the practice since the National Policy of 1879. This analysis was initially presented during the 1960-70's by the academics; Ian

⁴ Hentsch et Pottle, *op. cit.*, see p. 125 Wallerstein.

Lumsden, James Laxer, Danny Drache, Kari Levitt, and Wallace Clement⁵, who formed the Canadian left-nationalist school mainly in Toronto's Atkinson College at York University.

The Québec nationalist current does not elaborate a critique of the operation of the Transnational firm, in either Québec, English-Canada, the U.S.A., or the State per se (See Pichette⁶). The lack of concern nullifies studies of inter-locking (and indirect inter-locking) corporate directorships, as well as a study of nationality and directorships, capital leakage, in addition to comparative accounting of corporate subsidies, taxation, and foreign investment. An account of the limited work in this respect made available by Francine Bernard indicates the proportionally greater weight held by U.S. subsidiaries, seconded by the Anglo-Canadian corporations.⁷ Nonetheless the Québec 'national identity' is moulded around the Canadian State, which reflects its own orientation to Statism. Stanley Ryerson refers to an early anti-national study of the political economy of Québec by Fernand Ouellet (*Histoire économique et sociale du Québec : 1760-1850*) as well as its follow up.⁸ While discounting the programme for economic integration in a united State by the Canadian mercantile bourgeoisie, Ryerson sees a progressive industrial bourgeoisie as does Marx in the context of colonialism or dependency.² Such a notion lends itself to what is considered the inevitable progression to a

⁵ Wallace Clement, *The Canadian Corporate Elite : An Analysis of Economic Power*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975.

⁶ Jean Pichette, 'Globalisation et Nation', pp. 61-78, *Conjonctures 19*, Montréal, Numéro 19, Hiver 1994.

⁷ Francine Bernard, 'Nationalism Québécois et Gestion des Entreprises', pp. 51-66, *National and Ethnic Movements*, Jacques Dofny & Akinsola Akiwowo (eds.), *SAGE Studies in International Sociology 19*, Beverly Hills, London, International Sociological Association / ISA, 1980.

⁸ Ryerson, *Unequal Union*, Toronto, Progress Books, 1973, p. 427.

nation-state as the expression of the bourgeois striving for sovereignty. As such the nation-state is upheld as the legitimate expression of "national" self-determination in the Statist sense. This expression of linear periodization in ontology lacks the necessary revolutionary analysis which recognizes the nation only in its bourgeois manifestation, in spite of Ryerson's appreciation that; "the word 'nation' is in fact employed in two senses (referring either to 'an ethnic, cultural, sociological entity' or to 'a legal, constitutional, juristic entity')".⁹ His subsequent debate with Eugene Forsey and Pierre Elliot Trudeau falls into the same confines as his contenders by revolving about the nation-state as if it represented the issue of national-identity. For this reason Ryerson mistakenly dismisses Trudeau's contention that, "The very idea of Nation-State is absurd" and rests in the same confusion as Trudeau who continues on with the statements that, "The principle of nationalities has brought the world two centuries of wars and revolutions, but not a single definite solution. [...] The absurd and retrograde idea of national sovereignty [and] Le concept de nation [...] est un concept qui pourrait tout. ...",¹⁰ and all this in spite of his having acceded to the position of Prime Minister of the Canada Nation-State. There was even an incident where in response to the Parti Québécois indépendantiste government of the province of Québec putting up a highway sign proclaiming Québec city as the Capitale Nationale, Trudeau put up a similar sign (National Capital) outside Canada's capital of Ottawa, thus putting on display the lack of an adequate definition of Nation.

⁹ Ryerson, *Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹⁰ Ryerson, *Ibid.*, p. 433.

Ryerson also presents his proposal for a bi-national state, "the Canadian bi-national reality"¹¹ as if a nation-state superstructure could accommodate two major independent nations. He presents a utopian state, "Whether a new and equal union can be fashioned now, hangs on the decision of the 'double majority': of the peoples of the Canadas".¹² This proposition ignores the bi-national State configuration of the 1840's during the Union of the Canadas. This Union was undermined by the suppression of the bi-lingual Manitoba community, together with Louis Riel. A Confederation may only come to fruition being based on Bauer's proposal for 'national-cultural autonomy', not in an Empire and not in a State but possibly in a reciprocal federation. The Canadian State talks about the Confederation of 1867 but the word was merely borrowed from the Iroquois Five Nations Confederacy of 1390. An actual Confederation does not in fact yet exist.

If one were to compare the Canada context with that of Israel, the idea of a unitary state, the "one state solution", for both nations based on universal suffrage would not avoid the economic Ordering of the Palestinian Nation or the Québécois Nation, since the State would remain Zionist or Hegelian in its ideological constitution. The current proposition for an independent viable Palestinian State ignoring the registered Palestinian refugee population of 3.8 million (as of 2004) is parallel to the programme of the neo-liberal Parti Québécois in the province of Québec which favours the State over the Nation, while ignoring the Québécois residents of Canada and Vermont. The proposals for a "two-State solution", as the current content of the well tread "Road-Map for Peace", is not a solution in itself, but an interim proposal₃, even though

¹¹ Ryerson, *Ibid.*, p. 433.

¹² Ryerson, *Ibid.*, p. 435.

that was denied by Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Barak. The idea of "national-cultural autonomy" only exists as a viable option in a federated civil society which accommodates both the Palestinian and Israeli Nations. This has been referred to as the 'no-state solution', Isratine or the Federation of Canaan.

Parallel to these developments are the dynamics let loose in the Mexican State where NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) has led to an indigenous native revolt for autonomy in the Chiapas region that has destabilized the State as a whole, revealing its internal multi-national composition.

However great may be the potential for global revolts resulting from the international fiscal and political crises, the competitive conditions created may also serve to divide and disable an Inter-National/s revolution which could otherwise develop into the transformation of the world economic system. Considering that the current crises provoke hierarchical nationalist passions into forming hegemonic State blocs in competition with other such formations, the potential for another round of self-destructive insanity is evident. Protectionism has renewed the surge of right-wing populism amongst the working class, providing a base of support for far-right political formations promoting domestic job protection and the exclusion of immigrant workers. On the other hand, prospects for an Inter-National/s transformation are only conditional upon the development of a perspective by which the various national interests form a movement based in a collective will in accord with the nascent social interests, in reciprocity.

A strategy that ignores this critical condition is doomed, as is the postulated theory of a worldwide homogeneous united working class. Any attempt to suppress national consciousness to foster the development of a

global social movement must fail, being a formal counterpoising of national and extra-national interests, as if one could be isolated from the other. Unlike the hypothesis of a universal working class superseding the nationally-based workers, we can observe the working-class contradictions being expressed by seeking their national independence.

The means by which a common Inter-National/s impetus is formed is based in the reciprocal principle for mutual recognition of national identity. By such a method, the contradictions imposed by the competing States are overcome to coalesce an Inter-National/s world Civil Society. A nascent organizational precedent for this purpose can presently be found in the Non-Aligned Movement. In answer to Ira Gerstein's query "La cohésion du système affaiblit-elle la solidité de l'État nation?" we should say yes, irrevocably and permanently. And we should conclude as well that rather than the 'national question' it is « la question de l'État nation [qui] est posée. »¹³ Gerstein continues Poulantzas' train of thought concluding,

Ce fractionnement de l'État nation par la base peut être un aspect important de la forme nationale que prennent les luttes du prolétariat.¹⁴

As Poulantzas suggests, the national struggle turns against its own bourgeois class rather than forming such an alliance¹⁵ with that social strata, as postulated in the perspective of a political economist like Samir Amin. In this manner, the proletariat becomes a class in itself, but in its own national and social context.

¹³ Hentsch et Piotte, << Théories de l'économie mondiale et de l'imperialisme >>, Ira Gerstein, pp. 162 - 192, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

¹⁴ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁵ Hentsch et Piotte, *op. cit.*, *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Although the Zionist current developed its own critique of the Modern Nation-State and of international working class solidarity, its projection of national development has not gone beyond those limitations that have alienated and motivated it in the first place. The ideology of Zionism presents itself in isolation from other struggles and currents, granting itself absolute prerogative as to the means by which it may obtain its goals, disregarding alternatives with which national interests may be displayed.

6.1.1.1 Historical Conjuncture

The premise of the fragmentation of the State may have failed to consider the operative dynamics that maintain the cohesion of the international system of Nation-States. To place the question of the State into relative perspective, it is useful to delve into a comparison of historical blocs. Often it is thought that national identity arose with the formation of the western European Nation-State superstructures, when actually this viewpoint is only tracing the economic formation of the national bourgeoisie in the capitalist system, which operates through the state structure. That structure is competitive with other such formations which exist to accumulate resources and the means of production as a corporate body. The similarity between the corporate structure and the State is symptomatic of their symbiotic relationship.

In a study of the political economy of Permanent Revolution, Howard and King discuss the historical implications;

There was a structural problem of the form envisaged by Trotsky. To function productively, capitalism requires an international organisation akin to that provided by a nation-state over its territory. For much of the nineteenth century the rudiments of this

was furnished by the predominance of British sea power. Since the mid-twentieth century a more comprehensive American dominance has been evident. But between these two dates there was no economic basis by which international hegemony could be exercised through the medium of a national state, and no substitute was provided. In consequence there was an upsurge of European militarism, massive disruption of the international economy and two world wars in which imperialist ambitions were prominent.⁴

Without the hegemony of a single State superpower, at the very least in specific spheres of influence, there is an upsurge in the exclusivist aggrandizement perpetuated by the competitive rationale of the State's self-determination/sovereignty, as if it were a conscious corporate entity. However, the perspective of world revolution as the inevitable outcome of the crises of western capitalism faltered on the underestimation of the USA's relative isolation from the theatre of conflict and as such its relative benefits, providing it with a period of 'open door' access to the markets of the depressed wartime economies.⁵

Such an historical conjuncture provided for the proposition of world hegemony and a pax Americana based in the newly arisen world economy, or Globalization as it is called. The classical interpretation of Marxism based on the linear progression of history providing for the inevitability of economic stages of modes of production had previously been expressed as the Menshevik support for a bourgeois State in the decomposing Russian Empire. The critique of that Marxist paradigm in Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution foresaw the combined nature of the revolutionary process not only in Russia but in China as well despite the designation of Asiatic Mode of Production or Oriental Despotism as it was referred to. The failure to consolidate the revolutionary process in the Soviet Revolution due to the exclusive nature of the Communist Party (rather than the fragility of the Russian working class) resulting in a reversion to State control led to the restoration of the bourgeois economy. These developments opened up the prospects for the arising United

States economic expansion as had been practised in the Canadian context previously. Following from these developments James Burnham came to the conclusion that,

[...] the world as a whole will necessarily be organized, socially and politically, into a single world state or society, so that its political form will come into balance with its technological base. [...] The United States cannot help building an Empire.¹⁶

Burnham's confusion between society and the mode of production, illustrates the empiricism by which Statism operates as a methodology. A further elaboration of this discussion has been opened in this Chapter's note # 53.

However we have entered into a transition where, as Harry Magdoff describes,

the U.S. share of the world's foreign direct assets declined from 47 percent in 1960 to 28 percent in 1989. The explanation for this falling share is that Japan and Germany entered the field with both feet. The proportion of these two countries combined went from 1.9 percent in 1960 to 20.6 percent in 1989 - rise of close to 19 percentage points.¹⁷

Accordingly, we are experiencing the decline of the only apparent superpower available under the pressure of the constricted market possibilities and the increasing competition of similar state formations. The introduction of the dynamic of the industrialization of the Oriental States is not only remarkable, but apparently decisive in the accelerating decline of the US economy, in spite of the dominance of the US Transnationals. The accelerated pace of State fragmentation corresponds to this observation of the decline of economic

¹⁶ James Burnham, *The Struggle for The World*, New York, The John Day Company, inc., 1947, pp. 18, 184.

¹⁷ Harry Magdoff, *10: Globalization in Historical Perspective*, pp. 231-251, reprinted by The Society for Socialist Studies.

hegemony with a concomitant loss of political hegemony. The question of whether the competitive ethos of the competing States will force a confrontation in the midst of the decline of certain States is not certain. Considering the accelerating process of Fragmentation and the mutual aid provided by the newly emerging nations and their resultant resistance to external manipulation, the peace process could become stronger than the drive to war.

6.1.2 National and Class Dynamics

The relations between national and class dynamics are sparsely treated as a subject, since one of the two dynamics is usually prioritized as being the determinant of the other. In the stagiist perspective, the national revolution is said to give the national bourgeoisie the leading role in the society. While, on the other hand, the working class is postulated as the universal class and as such, the assimilationist milieu for all national working class formations in the international proletarian party, effectively abolishing civil society. In this economist treatment, culture is left with no political dynamic, while in the culturism paradigm, class has a greatly diminished significance in deference to the national culture directed by the bourgeoisie. Neither of these approaches can contemplate the dynamic interaction between the two. The superimposition of nation and a particular class is not a mutually inclusive or exclusive phenomenon; it may be coincident. Neither nation nor class replaces the other in analysis, for this would be equivalent to taking one aspect of reality in denial of reality per se. Neither takes precedence over the other, and their dynamic interaction as social phenomena serve to rather reinforce one

other, if their interests are compatible, as in the case of the proletariat if it mobilizes in itself Inter-Nationally.

The analysis of class relations and theory of the nation are distinct without doubt, but there exists a correlation between class and nation in the national revolution. The most evident correlation made would be that the superstructure of the 'Nation-State' corresponds to the nature and exclusivist interests of the bourgeois class. The nation corresponds to the people who are in large part the lower classes; the proletariat, unemployed, non-employed and/or, the peasantry. However, we can observe that the tendency to exclusivity exists in spite of class identity, as in the obedience displayed by the industrial working class to the Nazi State.⁶ These examples are no doubt the subjective conjunctures of extreme circumstances, but there has been great difficulty in driving the industrial proletarian revolution, most likely because workers are not sheep.

There should be an examination of the material roots that the proletariat has fixed in the nature of the existing State in terms of minimum wage, unemployment insurance, pension funds and other trappings of the Welfare State. Class consciousness does not divide the proletariat from the Bourgeoisie to the extent thought in Marxist ideology. The material benefits of imperial aggrandizement provide for the immediate interests of the proletariat in competition with the national proletariat of the competing state formations. This was reflected in the proliferation of Statist socialist tendencies among the working class parties of the Social Democratic Second International prior to the First World War when 'foreign' workers were unwelcome in the national labour market of 'their' State. Obviously, the need for world class solidarity is lacking and warranted, but the impetus for such a one-dimensional class consciousness is lacking, in spite of proletarian objective interests. The problem with class analysis alone is that the proletariat on its own is not the

driving force of social revolution, because of the identity it makes with the Nation-State. To the extent that the organized proletariat is composed in large part of the dominant national formation, it will identify with the Nation-State structure before it can identify with its class as a whole, since the state guarantees its relative privilege. This manner of problem is apparent as well in the character of the aristocracy of labour which may identify its interests with the solvency of its enterprise as an apparent job provider, in addition to being of the common favoured national origin. In a different context, one can again refer to the Jewish popular support of the exclusivist Israel State. In this case the question of national security becomes predominant and the State is worshipped as the guarantor of security, in lieu of the deity.

Although the class contradiction may be introduced and elaborated to enable social transformation in the relations of power, this only becomes operational when Civil Society presents itself as the benefactor and the guarantor of security, if there were to be a split from the State. This may include the fragmentation of the proletariat into particular national Civil Societies within the same Civil Society, while seeking a mode of operation that reunifies that Civil Society as an anti-Statist and anti-capitalist force; both at the same time. Consequently, there cannot be one unified proletarian party if provision is made for autonomous political representation. The party together with the State is annulled. This double/dual revolution has the necessary potential to achieve a social transformation, whereas each process on its own is continually circumvented by conflicting interests. The pluralist character of Civil Society is thwarted by the linear process of class and/or national liberation unless the State is annulled.

It is of interest to point out the comments of the political economist John Saul who treated this subject in 1979;

Perhaps enough has been said, however, to suggest that Marxist scientists and African revolutionaries can only make progress when they take ethnicity (and, for that matter, nationalism - though that would be the subject for another essay) seriously as a 'real' rather than ephemeral and/or vaguely illegitimate variable in Africa. This essay argues that this is most likely to be done when the 'simultaneity' of class and centre-periphery contradictions is placed front and centre as a key factor within our analytical framework. This is an orientation which has not been adequately explored in the literature of the political economy of Africa.¹⁸

The prospect of a combined process of revolutionary national and class dynamics in Society is also found in the analysis of Ron Bourgeault.

The national question recognizes the implementation of the right to self-determination as the right to independent, or autonomous political or territorial development. At the same time it is recognized that the national question must be grounded in the study of objective conditions and that national autonomy cannot be fully attained unless there is a dissolution of class relations of exploitation, since the historical basis of national oppression is directly linked to the relationship of class with ethnic divisions of labour.¹⁹

The uneven development of socioeconomic conditions of production among the masses of a given society accelerates and reinforces the prevalent dynamics of national and class tensions. The resultant is the combined force of national and class struggles providing a greater impetus to the social transformation, bringing about the independence of the Society from the State apparatus.

An analogy that serves to elaborate the combined nature of the national and class dynamic is to be found in the dialectic of the chisel ('un ciseau') with itself, that is, a function, a utility, and its negative; the other of itself in

¹⁸ John S. Saul, 'The Dialectics of Class and Tribe', pp. 1-42, *studies in political economy : a socialist review*, Spring 1979, Number 1, Ottawa, Carlton University, p. 36.

¹⁹ Ron Bourgeault, 7: *The Struggle for Class and Nation : The Origins of the Métis in Canada and the National Question*, pp. 153-187.

reflection. The two dynamics function together reciprocally, but opposed to one another. As they move together to a position of lessened opposition, they come to the point of commonality. This is the scissors effect (« l'effet de ciseaux »).⁸ The process whereby the two dynamics reach their commonality gives rise to the cutting edge of the social revolution, its avant-garde, or, that which acts before another. This is a social movement whose definition is differentiated from the Vanguard party conception which acts to capture an action that has originated spontaneously. This contradiction is strategic in that the Vanguard party acts as a pre-State formation on its own and an apparatus to monopolize the functions of the State upon its re-formation into the revolutionary State, a contradiction in itself.

A reference to the coincidence of national and class alienation that serves to clarify the previous discussion is contained in the historic document *The Durham Report*, which is notable for its frankness, due to its being a personal report to the King of England;

If they prefer remaining stationary, the greater part of them must be labourers in the employ of the English capitalists. [...] the vast majority of French Canadians are doomed to occupy an inferior position and to be dependent upon the English for employment²⁰

Rather than being a coincidence without apparent meaning, this example is a replication of similar patterns, as mentioned previously in the *Torah* with respect to Canaan when,

As for all the people remaining over from the Am'or-otes, the Hit'tites, the Per'izzites, the Hi'vites and the Jeb'usites, who were not part of the sons of Israel, their sons who had

²⁰ Rioux, 1971: 51.

been left over after them in the land whom the sons of Israel had been unable to devote to destruction, Sol'o-mon kept levying them for slavish forced labor until this day.²¹

National-cultural autonomy among the classes compromising the masses of the Society is the method which may unify the lower classes, based on their own national identity in a federation rather than a relatively abstract and ineffectual universality. The basis of unity in such a federated network serves as the means for the reconstruction of Society as a pluralist dynamic equilibrium.

6.1.3 Societal Organization

The methodology of reciprocal dynamics in poly-national society is presented here and projected onto a permanent Constitutional Assembly. The achievement of national-cultural autonomy flowing from the right of auto-determination provides for the various constitutional arrangements that are considered here. We may take note of the proposition from Kropotkin who advises in his *Modern Science and Anarchism*;

The state organisation, having been the force to which the minorities resorted for establishing and organising their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy these privileges. [...] The economic and political liberation of man will have to create new forms for its expression of life, instead of those established by the State.²²

²¹ *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., 1 'Kings' 9: 20 - 9: 21, p. 412, and/or 2 'Chronicles' 7: 7 - 8, p. 515.

²² Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos (ed.), *The Political Economy of the State : Québec / Canada / U.S.A.*, Montréal, Black Rose Books, 1973, p. 7.

The proposition from Lenin for a proletarian State works itself into a circular logic whereby, "It follows that under communism there remains for a time not only bourgeois right, but even the bourgeois state, without the bourgeoisie!", while previously having proclaimed the need for a proletarian State.²³

The method of social organization is conceived here follows from the critique of the State. What is required is an internal structure which arises to oppose the State as the organizational content of a Society, overcoming the State. The political credibility of representation is at issue in this instance. The cultural characteristics of the Society would have to be recognized in the institutions created by their respective social formations, rather than allowing a centralized apparatus to represent the Society as a whole, composed of the dominant nation's elite. These social formations then produce their autonomous political representations.

A Constituent Assembly's character is of course a function of what a Constitution is considered to be. Sir Ivor Jennings sums up the restrictive British constitutional definition;

the document in which are set out the rules governing the composition, powers and methods of operation of the main institutions of government, and the general principles applicable to their relations to the citizens (23).

On the other end of the scale is the view of the theorists of the French Revolution. The principle basis of a constitution as seen through the eyes of Albert Soboul, a historian of the French Revolution, is popular sovereignty as an indefeasible and inalienable fact. For the French revolutionaries, laws were valid only if they were made or sanctioned by the people (24). Between these poles, there is host of theoretical perceptions about the meaning and character of a constitution. [...] As Marx said in his Critique of Hegel's

²³ V.I. Lenin, 'The State and Revolution', pp. 263-361, *Selected Works, Volume 2*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1967, pp. 343, 282.

Philosophy of Right, 'it is not the constitution which creates the people but the people which creates the constitution.' (25)₁₀²⁴

The constitutional examples referred to in this work are:

- (1) the Jewish Provisional National Assembly in the Ukraine during 1917-1920, and also Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia;
- (2) the Palestine National Council;
- (3) the Long House assembly of the Five (Six) Nations Confederacy;
- (4) the proposal for a Constituent Assembly in Québec and/or Canada;²⁵
- (5) the tradition of national assemblies of the Jewish People, and
- (6) the self-governing of the Polish Jewish community.

It can be noted that during times of social transformation a certain period of sustained innovation is undertaken during the deliberations of a Constituent Assembly. As was the case with the formation of the United States of America with Thomas Paine's guidance. The function of formulating the constitution of a society is founded on the idea that the preceding institutional apparatus is to be either transformed or abolished. With the drafting of a constitutional document the Constituent Assembly normally dissolves, leaving its power of interpreting and amending the constitution to a combination of the Supreme Court, legislative assembly(ies), and in default of which, the power of the people to overcome the institutional structure.

²⁴ Stuart Rush, 'Collective Rights and Collective Process : Missing Ingredients in the Canadian Constitution', *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes : A Canadian Annual* no. 2, 1984, p. 9.

²⁵ Ross Dowson, *Quebec & the Canada Crisis : for a Constituent Assembly and a new Canadian Constitution*, Toronto, Forward Publications, October 1977.

In the projection made here, the constitutional Supreme Court would merge into a delegated body to replace the functions of the Canadian Senate, for example, so reformulating the nature of social relations on a collective and autonomous basis upheld by a renewable, revokable and recallable constitutional assembly, in permanence.

Upon the convening of the Constitutional Assembly an intensified degree of social activity and discourse takes place, during such a period of social upheaval. By definition, such a Constitutional Assembly functions prior to the establishment of any possible civil constitution or State apparatus, which is formed to regulate social functions and its governing institutions. The Constituent Assembly organizational form actually lends itself to replacing the State as the preferred mode of operation, for the reasons that; power is not invested in the hands of any agency other than that of the popular assembly, and because the perpetuation of the social transformation is facilitated by its continuing organizational operation. The nature of its representation is crucial, of course, and combined with the method of national-cultural autonomy, each social and national formation would form a consensus over; the proportion of their representation, the method of selection of delegates, the means of renewal or recall, the criteria of decision-making, as well as, relations to the services of governing, judiciary, public need, education and diplomacy.

The basis upon which an assembly is constituted is dependent upon the proportion of representation allocated and the nature of decision-making. Without such a unanimity then the Assembly is not possible and there is likely a fracture into other representative bodies. Despite the proposals for a Canada-wide Constitutional Assembly, this project has not been possible and seems unlikely until the Québécoise (Kébékoize) Nation achieves its own expression in a constituent assembly to achieve autonomy or independence from the State

of Canada. In the June-July 1977 issue of the influential liberal journal *Canadian Forum*, 'A Proposal For a New Constitution' presented by The Committee For a New Constitution appeared. The methodology presented here anticipates that upon the,

event that Quebec chooses independence with association, the rest of Canada should be in a position to propose terms of association. [...] [by means of] the creation of a popularly elected constituent assembly charged with drafting a new constitution [...] including provision for terms of association with Quebec (in the event that Quebec should so opt) which would then be submitted to public ratification.²⁶

Soon, the opportunity to test such prospects should be expected to arise.

6.1.4 Development of Civil Society

The term Jewish People is not equivalent to the Israelis or Israelites, even though this is common to Zionist ideology and the Palestinian national liberation movement itself. Rather, the Judeans migrated and did not fuse with the other nations of Canaan to form the Palestinian Nation or People, for the greater part. A People then is formed of a number of Nations with a shared culture convoking a political culture of self-governance.¹¹ One particular vestige of this pattern of social development is the community of 300 pre-Talmudic Jewish Palestinians living under siege in Nablus, at this time. Another example of such early social organization still operating, is the Five/Six Nations Confederacy of 1390 in pre-European North American. Still another example is early Jewish history is the formation of the Hebrew Nation

²⁶ Ross Dowson, *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

by the liberator Moses who formed the Nation out of the slave caste from Kingdom of Egypt and breathed life into it by convoking the Annual National Assembly 35 times during the migrations, so providing the civil society alongside the tribal structures to unify the Nation imbedded with a will based in the theocratic structures erected. The sharp break with this pattern was the invasion of Canaan under Joshua ending at the treaty with the Hittite Nation providing for co-existence territorially. This resembles the current strivings for a reciprocal accord. The problems that form a conceptual impasse is the Palestinian and Arab use of 'Yehudi [Jews]' and 'Yehud [Jew]' to name the Israeli Jewish population even though it represents a minority of the Jewish People as a whole. The Israelites formed an integral Nation territorially based which adopted a Monarchy to replace its civil society while the Jewish People exist inter-nationally with a civil society coalesced in the World Jewish Congress as in the Dubnovian concept for national-autonomy. Likewise the Israeli political culture is incapable of recognizing that the Israeli Muslim and Christian Arabs are integral to the Palestinian Nation which continues to live in the immediate proximity and for that reason are actually Israeli Palestinians.

A second term which is misused by both political cultures is the identity of Arab. While the actual demographic composition of the population living in the State of Israel is

at least 75% Arab (West Bank and Gaza as well as the 20% Sepharade and 13% Israeli Palestinian/Druze/Bedoin), this is not recognized by either the Palestinian or Israeli consciousness and is relegated to some other site, by a mass neurosis. The Jewish Sephardim community of Israel Society has its oral language suppressed while being oriented to an economic Order inferior to the Ashkenazi community. In the Arab University Graduates Conference held 1954 in Beirut, the fourth resolution was "Jewish subjects are to be excepted

from the above [Steps toward the realization of Arab Unity]"²⁷₁₂, so excluding Jewish Arabs from the concept of Nation by theocratic definition. In both cases the concept of Arab Nation is not understood by either Zionism or Pan-Arabism.

Such antinomies follow from the debasement psychologically of the victimized mentality which adopts the methodology of the conquerors;

This imitation may come about either unconsciously or because of a mistaken belief that the victory of the conquerors was due not to their superior solidarity and strength but to [inferiority of] the customs and beliefs of the conquered. Hence, arises the further belief that such an imitation will remove the causes of defeat.²⁸

as in the degenerative cycle of reciprocity that is elaborated in Chapter III Reciprocity and Nation and endnote #30, Chapter 5. This is not to diminish the effect of post-colonialism where the imperial master maintains the reigns of power in so far as it dominates the nationalist dominators in turn. This neo-colonialism, as it has been called, is the replication of the imperial nation-state in its own image, much like Alphonse Karr's expression, 'Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose'. Edward Said takes note of this situation as well,

Here a word of caution and prudence is required. One theme I take up is the uneasy relationship between nationalism and liberation, two ideals or goals for people engaged against imperialism. In the main it is true that the creation of very many newly independent nation-state in the post-colonial world has succeeded in re-establishing the primacy of what have been called imagined communities [...] hijacked by a host of dictators and petty tyrants, enshrined in various state nationalisms. [...] the resurgent

²⁷ Sharabi, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

nationalisms, despotisms, and ungenerous ideologies that betrayed the liberationist ideal in favor of the nationalist independent actuality.²⁹

In the context of the arising Palestine Authority, as in the proposed Palestine State currently enforced upon the State of Israel by the United States of America, representation is restricted to the population living under military occupation cut off from the Palestinian citizens of the State of Israel while the Palestinian refugees do not even have the guarantee for the right to return to that territory designated as the "nation-state" all in spite of the subjective desires of the political actors involved. The replication of the Zionist State and its stages strategy of conquest is the alluring prototype of state-building that presents itself as the model for the Palestinian national liberation movement. The prognosis for the political development of the Palestinian movement while not as dismal as it has been for the Zionist movement is nonetheless capable of acts of political alienation which duplicate the tactics to which it is subject to, in reciprocity. Fanon is quoted to make this point by Said, "The violence of the colonial regime and counter-violence of the native balance each other and respond to each other in an extraordinary reciprocal homogeneity,"³⁰ Here there is an impressionable quantity of writing that addresses the options before the liberation movement, as pointed out by Edward Said¹⁴. Other important sources would be Samir Amin's *Class and Nation, Historically and in the Current Crisis, Delinking*; Yussuf Kly's *International Law and the Black Minority in the U.S., The Anti-Social Contract, A Popular Guide to Minority Rights*; or the Khamsin group's *Forbidden Agendas*.¹⁵

²⁹ Edward W. Said, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁰ Said, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

The prospects for peace seem to be advancing under pressure from the generalized Arab political movements which have exerted economic and political pressures upon the U.S. State department to the extent that it has obliged its junior partners in the State of Israel to relent in the occupation of the 1967 Palestinian territories to the extent of conceding either 60% or 80% of the land surface, depending on the political party in office, to a conciliatory Palestinian Authority which refrains from bringing forth the issue of the five million Palestinian refugees, the largest such refugee population in the world and in all of history. As Ibrahim Abu-Lughod presents the matter,

[...] there are two distinct peoples – regardless of their origin, cultural and religious identities, etc. – on the land of Palestine in search of political sovereignty. The historic politics of negation would deny one of these two peoples their aspiration; the politics of affirmation would meet the national territorial requirements of both.³¹

While the diplomatic accord necessary to accomplish such a programme has not been worked out, the feasibility of such a proposal is viable and has been evident to the PLO since Yasser Arafat's proclamation to the United Nations General Assembly. Not only the Fatah party but all the Palestinian factions have now agreed to a diplomatic treaty with the State of Israel to resolve the permanent war condition that has prevailed. The element that has been lacking is the regeneration of the inter-national/s Jewish opposition to the Zionist movement that would and should exert pressure from within the national political culture to negate the Statist inclinations of the more organized Jewish Zionist parties. In this respect we may see the renaissance of such an opposition currently forming itself, not only in 150 cities world-wide but

³¹ Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, 'Territorially-based Nationalism and the Politics of Negation', pp. 193-206, *Blaming the Victims*, Edward Said & Christopher Hitchens (eds.), London, Verso, 1988, p. 205.

within the Israeli political culture and even within the State's military, diplomatic corp and public bureaucracy.

* * * *

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

1. Du point de vue de l'État nation, on peut remarquer que les gouvernements des pays d'accueil se trouvent dans un dilemme. Ils doivent encourager les investissements directs vers l'intérieur, afin de maximiser les effets positifs de l'interdépendance économique internationale sur la demande réelle et la croissance intérieure, et ils doivent, en même temps, défendre et restaurer leur pouvoir autonome. Cette contradiction est particulièrement aiguë puisque, comme l'affirme Lindbeck [...]

Hentsch et Pottie, *L'impact politique et social des firms transnationales*, pp. 199-229, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

2. "If the country is to be saved, the saviours will not be found in the haunts of capital, not will they come from the seats of the mighty, but such salvation as may be will find its birth in the hearts and minds of the great mass of the common people of the Dominion.

Sir Henry Thornton, president of Canadian National Railways, 1922-1932, in his final letter to Canada shortly before his death in 1933."

Herschel Hardin's *A Nation Unaware*, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

3. The Oslo Agreement has as its subtitle, 'An Interim Agreement'.

4. 63. On these matter see G. Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967, pp. 31-3, 110, 115-7; G. Lichtheim, *Imperialism*, London, Allen Lane, 1971, pp. 29, 66, 71-9, 86, 88, 90-1, 93, 120; J.A. Moses, *The Politics of Illusion*, London, Prior, 1975); M. Wright, *Power Politics*, Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1986), pp. 42-3, 55-6, 73, 75, 84, 101-4, 137-8, 144, 184, 200, 280, 290, 293, 297; V. Kiernan, *Marxism and*

Imperialism, London, Edward Arnold, 1974, chapter 3.

5. As in the reference given of L. Trotsky, *Europe and America*, Colombo, Lanka Samasamaja, 1951, (written in the mid 1920s); see also *Communist International*, vol. 1, pp. 104, 181-4, 193-6; vol. 2, p. 328.

6. The German working class was no doubt mobilized for the slaughter in the USSR, however the lack of disobedience was nurtured by the concession of lands in the occupied countries to replace the indigenous population with German colonists.

7. 5. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, 'The National Question in the Americas', *Indians in the Americas*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1984.

8. It is not that the force of social transformation bursts as quickly as possible, but rather like a tiny prick in the big balloon of ideology it allows the compressed gas to flow out, however slowly, or quickly. The State itself is similarly affected. Everything begins at a focus, even the Universe.

9. It is of interest that Lenin made a comment in his side-bar notes that raised his criticisms of Stalin and Dzerjinski to the level of principle, only to cross it out;

Ici se pose une importante question de principe:
Comment concevoir l'internationalisme? * 30.XII.22
Consigné par M.V.
Lénine
* Plus loin, dans les notes sténographiées, la phrase « Je pense
que nos camarades n'ont pas suffisamment compris cette
importante question de principe » est barrée. (N.R.)

'La Question des Nationalités ou de l'« Autonomie » Suite des notes. 30,31 décembre 1922', pp. 144-153, *Sur La Politique Nationale et l'Internationalisme Proletarien*, Moscou, Editions de l'agence de Press Novosti, 1969, pp. 146, 151.

- 10. 23. See W.R. Lederman, 'The Process of Constitutional Amendment for Canada', *Background Papers*, note 21, 75-78.
- 24. A. Soboul, *The Sans Culotte*, 1972, p. 96.
- 25. K. Marx, 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right', in R.C. Tucker (ed.), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 1978, 2nd ed., pp. 16 at 20. Also in K. Marx & F. Engels, *Collected Works*, 1975, Vol.3, pp. 3, 29.

11. Such a projection is made by Stanley Ryerson in his work *Unequal Union* where he presents a pessimistic analysis, "... the relationship of political and economic inequality as between French and English impaired the prospect of a common emerging sense of Canadianness, of any strong feeling of dual-national identity.", p. 418.

12. Arab University Graduates Conference : Resolutions on Outstanding Problems. Main resolutions taken at the first inter-Arab conference of college and university graduates held in Beirut, June 23-June 25, 1954. *Mu'tamar al-khrijin al-da'im liqadaya al-watan al-'arabi* [Permanent Conference of University Graduates for the Problems of the Arab Fatherland] [first session; Beirut, 1954].

13. See Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, p. 88 [p. 357 notes of *Culture and Imperialism*].

14. See *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 217 where the Indian scholar and theoretician Partha Chatterjee (a member of the Subaltern Studies group) is quoted as writing, "The world of the concrete, the world of differences, of conflict, of the struggle between classes of history and politics, now finds its unity in the life of the state." 'Nationalist Thought', p. 100.

15. Other important works to integrate into the analysis are: *Mouvement Ouvrier, Communisme et Nationalismes dans le Monde Arabe* cahier du "Mouvement Social", the archives of the Palestine Research Center; *Social Change and Revolution in England 1540-1640* by Lawrence Stone; *Nationalism and the National Question* by Nicole Arnaud & Jacques Dofny, etc.

ANNEX

ANNEX 630

ANNEX A

LA LANGUE DE PRÉSENTATION /

LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION Annex A-1, 631

ANNEX B

LA CONFÉDÉRATION DES CINQ NATIONS 1390

(FIVE NATIONS CONFEDERACY 1390)

HAUDENOSAUNEE Annex B-1, 632

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ANNEX C

NATIVE LAW CODE Annex C-1, 640

ANNEX D

TOPOLOGY OF POLITICAL CULTURE :

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ANNEX A

LA LANGUE DE PRÉSENTATION/LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION

Letter of

La doyenne adjointe des études avancées et de la recherche par intérim,
with original deposited in departmental dossier.

ANNEX B

LA CONFÉDÉRATION DES CINQ NATIONS 1390
(FIVE NATIONS CONFEDERACY 1390)

HAUDENOSAUNEE

Le Peuple de la Maison Longue ('Iroquois'!)

Kaianere'ko:wa : Le *Grand Bien*

réimprimé de *Pleine Terre*, Vol.I No. 1, Solstice d'été 1992

Le mode de vie traditionnel des peuples de la Ligue des Cinq, puis Six Nations (surnommée Confédération iroquoise), de même que pour rendre la connaissance de leur organisations socio-politiques plus familière, nous vous présentons ici un texte partial du Loi de la Grande Paix ou Grande Loi. C'est cette même Loi qui inspira les fondateurs des États-Unis dans l'élaboration de leur propre constitution. La Kaianere'ko:wa , à

laquelle se réfèrent les traditionalistes de la Ligue des Six Nations, serait la plus ancienne constitution encore en application dans le monde. Originnaire du Nord-Est de l'Amérique, elle aurait été élaborée à la fin du 14^{ième} siècle (ou début du 15^{ième}) et a été transmise dans les inscriptions des Wampums et oralement au sein des peuples de la Maison Longue.

Je suis Tekanawita

Avec les représentants de la Ligue des Cinq Nations je plante l'ARBRE DE LA GRANDE PAIX. Je le plante sur ton territoire Atotarho, dans celui de la nation ONONDAGE: dans votre territoire à vous, GARDIENS DU FEU. Je nomme cet arbre TSIONERATASEKOWA, le Grand Pin Blanc.

Dans l'ombrage de cet ARBRE de la GRANDE PAIX, nous étendons le doux et blanc duvet plumeux du chardon où tu pourras t'asseoir ATOTARHO de même que ton cousin représentant de la nation.

Nous vous installons sur ses sièges adoucis du duvet plumeux du chardon, et là, sous l'ombrage des ramures déployées de l'ARBRE de la GRANDE PAIX, là, vous assoirez-vous et garderez le FEU de la Ligue des Cinq Nations. Toutes les affaires de la Ligue devront être traitées à cet endroit par les représentants de la Ligue des Cinq Nations, devant toi ATOTARHO et devant ton cousin représentant des ONONDAGE.

Les racines de l'ARBRE de la GRANDE PAIX se sont étendues, l'une vers le nord, l'une encore vers l'est, une autre vers le sud et la dernière vers l'ouest. Elles sont les Grandes Racines Blanches, et leur nature est faite de Paix et de Force.

Si un homme ou une nation, hors des Cinq Nations, veut suivre les lois de la Grande Paix, la les lois de la Grande Paix, la Kaianere'ko:wa et en informe les représentants de la Ligue, il ou elle pourra suivre ces racines jusqu'à l'Arbre. Si leur esprit est pur, s'ils sont respectueux et s'engagent à respecter le souhaits du Conseil de la Ligue, ils seront invités à se mettre à l'abri sous l'Arbre aux Longs Rameaux.

Nous plaçons au sommet de l'Arbre de la GRANDE PAIX un aigle, lequel a une vue perçante. S'il voit de loin quelque danger que ce soit qui nous menace, il en avertira immédiatement les gens de la Ligue.

A toi, ATOTARHO de même qu'aux représentants Onondage, moi et les autres représentants de la Ligue, nous vous confions le soin et la garde du Feu du Conseil des Cinq Nations.

Quand une affaire devra être discutée et que le Conseil de la Ligue ne sera pas réuni en session, un messenger sera envoyé ou à gardiens du feu ou à leurs chefs de guerre, avec un exposé complet de cette affaire qui doit être soumise à l'étude. Ensuite, ATOTARHO convoquera ses chefs cousins à une réunion et ils jugerons si cette affaire est d'importance suffisant pour la porter à l'attention du Conseil de la Ligue. Si c'est le cas, ATOTARHO devra envoyer des messagers afin de convoquer les chefs de la Ligue et les rassembler sous l'ARBRE de la GRAND PAIX.

Quand tous les représentes seront réunis, le Feu du Conseil devra être allumé, mais pas avec du bois de châtaignier, et ATOTARHO devra ouvrir officiellement le Conseil. Puis, ATOTARHO et ses cousins représentes, GARDIENS de FEU, annonceront le sujet de la discussion. La fumée du Feu du Conseil de la Ligue s'élèvera et traversera le ciel afin que les autres nations

qui pourraient être des alliées puissent voir le Feu du Conseil de la GRANDE PAIX. Toi, ATOTARHO et ton treizième cousin représentant, maintiendrez fidèlement l'espace près du Feu du Conseil propre et ne laisserez aucune poussière ou saleté s'y accumuler. J'étends une longue aile de goéland (Tsiowatekawewonerahontsha) devant vous en guise de balai. J'y place aussi un bâton pour que si une créature rampante s'approchait, vous l'en chassiez du Feu du Conseil. Si vous n'arrivez pas à la projeter au loin, appelez alors les autres représentants à votre aide.

Les KANIEN'KEHAKA (Mohawk)

Le Conseil des Kananien'kehaka sera partagé en trois groupes: TEHANAKARINE, OSTAWENSERENTHA et SOSKOHAROWANE formeront le premier groupe; TEKARIHOKEN' AYONWATHA et SATEKARIWATE en formeront le second; SARENHOWANE, TEYONHEKWEN et ORENREKOWA formeront le troisième. Le premier groupe écoutera seulement les discussions des deuxième et troisième groupes; si une erreur est commise, ou si les procédures ne sont pas correctes, ils devront porter cela à l'attention de tous, et lorsque la cause est juste et qu'une décision est convenablement prise par les deux groupes, le premier groupe confirmera la décision. Lorsque les représentants Mohawk, l'affaire ou la question doit être référée aux représentants Cayuga Oneida qui siègent dans la Maison Longue sur le côté opposé.

Moi, Tekanawita, je désigne les représentants Mohawk à la tête comme guide des Cinq Nations. Les représentants Mohawk constituent les assises de la Grande Paix, et, par conséquent, il sera contre la Grande Loi d'Unification de passer des règlements au Conseil de la Ligue après que les représentants

Mohawk se soient élevés contre ceux-ci. Aucun Conseil de la Ligue ne sera légal à moins que tous les représentants Mohawk n'y soient présents.

A chaque fois que les représentants de la Ligue se rassembleront dans le but de tenir Conseil, les représentants Onondage devront ouvrir ce Conseil en exprimant leur gratitude à leurs cousins représentants, et, en les saluant, ils devront faire une discours et rendre grâce à la terre où les humains habitent, aux cours d'eau, aux mares comme aux lacs, au maïs et aux fruits, aux herbes médicinales et aux arbres, aux forêts pour leur utilité, aux animaux qui sont notre nourriture et dont les peaux servent à nous vêtir, aux grands vents et aux brises, aux tonnerres, au soleil, ce puissant guerrier, à la lune, aux messagers du Créateur qui font part de ses coeurs et, au Grand Créateur qui vit dans le firmament, qui donne aux humains toutes les choses utiles et qui est la source et régit la santé et la vie. Puis, les représentants Onondage déclareront ouvert le Conseil.

Le Conseil ne devra pas siéger après que la noirceur sera venue.

Les Gardiens du Feu devront ouvrir et fermer formellement tous les Conseils des représentants de la Ligue; ils devront étudier toutes les affaires sur lesquelles auront délibéré les deux parties et rendre leur décision. Chacun des représentants Onondage (ou son substitut) devra être présent à chaque conseil de la Ligue, et devra être d'accord avec la majorité, sans dissidence injustifiable, de façon à ce qu'une décision unanime puisse être rendue.

Si ATOTARHO ou un de ses cousins représentants sont absents du Conseil de la Ligue, un autre Gardien de Feu pourra ouvrir et fermer le Conseil, mais les Gardiens du Feu présents ne pourront pas prendre de décisions à moins que ce ne soit pour une affaire de moindre importance.

Toutes les affaires du Conseil de la Ligue des Cinq Nations doivent être conduites par les deux corps (groupes) réunis des représentants de la Confédération. D'abord la question doit être examinée par les représentants Oneida et Cayuga. Leurs décisions doivent être référées par la suite aux représentants Onondage, Gardiens du Feu, pour la décision finale.

Le même processus doit être suivi quant une question est amenée devant le Conseil par un individu ou un chef de guerre.

Dans tous les cas, cette procédure doit être suivie lorsque les représentants Mohawk et Seneca ont donné leur accord unanime sur une question, ils doivent faire part de leur décision aux représentants Cayuga et Oneida lesquels doivent délibérer sur cette question et faire rapport de leur décision unanime aux représentants Mohawk. Les représentants Mohawk feront ensuite rapport des positions sur cette affaire aux Gardiens du Feu qui eux rendront leur décision comme ils le jugeront convenable dans le cas de désaccord entre les deux groupes, ou confirmer les décisions des deux groupes si elles sont identiques. Les Gardiens du Feu devront faire rapport de leur décision aux représentants Mohawk qui l'annonceront au Conseil en session.

Si par le fait d'un malentendu ou d'une obstination de la part des Gardiens du Feu, ils en arrivent à une décision différente de celle des deux côtés de la Maison Longue, les deux côtés devront prendre à nouveau en considération la question et si leurs décisions demeurent les mêmes qu'auparavant, ils devront en faire rapport aux Gardiens du Feu, qui sont appelés à confirmer leur décision commune.

Quand une affaire est amenée devant les représentants Onondaga, Gardiens du Feu, pour être discutée et jugée, ATOTARHO doit présenter

cette affaire à ses camarades représentants, qui la discuteront ensuite à l'intérieur des deux groupes. Chaque représentant Onondaga, sauf Hononwireton, doivent délibérer; quant à ce dernier, il écoutera seulement lorsqu'une décision unanime aura été prise par les deux groupes des Gardiens du Feu, ATOTARHO doit en informer Honowireton qui par la suite confirmera cette Honowiereton qui par la suite confirmera cette décision. Il devra refuser de confirmer une décision s'il n'y a pas eu au préalable accord de tous, des deux côtes des Gardiens du Feu.

Aucun chef membre du corps des chefs de la Ligue ne doit poser de question lorsqu'ils sont en train de discuter un cas, une affaire, ou une proposition. Il peu seulement délibérer à voix basse avec seulement le groupe dont il est membre. Quand le Conseil des chefs des Cinq Nations doit se rassembler, ils doivent nommer un porte-parole pour la journée. Celui-ci doit être un chef Mohawk, Onondage ou Seneca.

Le jour suivant, le Conseil doit en nommer un autre mas le premier porte-parole peut être nommé à nouveau, s'il n'y a pas d'objection, mais le terme d'un porte-parole ne doit pas être envisagé pour plus d'une journée.

Aucun individu ou nation étrangère concernée par une affaire, une question, ou une proposition ne doit avoir de droit de parole au Conseil de la Ligue sauf si une question lui ou leur est posée par le porte-parole des chefs.

KAIANERE'KO:WA

Si les conditions qui prévalent dans le futur exigent d'effectuer un changement ou une addition à cette Loi, on devra étudier cela avec soin et si

un nouveau support à la Loi s'avérerait ainsi nécessaire et bénéfique, le changement proposé devra être soumis au vote et, s'il est adopté, il sera intitulé: "Addition aux fondements de la Loi."

Droits, devoirs et qualification des représentants

Des coquillages à wampum ¹ enfilés sur des cordelettes, chacune de deux empan² de longueur devront être donnés à chacune des familles de femmes ³ qui ont été investies des titres de chefs. Le droit d'octroyer des titres sera héréditaire dans les familles des femmes possédant également des cordelettes de coquillages, et les cordelettes seront le signe distinctif que les femmes de ces familles détiennent pour toujours le titre de chefferie, ceci étant sujet à certaines restrictions mentionnées ici.

Si un chef de la Ligue néglige ou refuse d'assister au Conseil de la Ligue, les autres chefs de la nation dont il est membre doivent réclamer de leur chef de guerre qu'il fasse la demande aux marraines de ce chef, coupable de négliger ses devoirs, d'exiger de ce chef qu'il assiste au Conseil. S'il refuse, les femmes détentrices du titre doivent immédiatement choisir un autre candidat à ce titre. Aucun chef ne doit se voir demander plus d'un fois de participer au Conseil de la Ligue. *

-
1. coquillages à wampum: la palourde QUAHAUG
 2. un empan = environ 9 pouces
 3. Familles de femmes: système de parenté matrilineaire

ANNEX C

NATIVE LAW CODE ¹

¹ abraham Weizfeld, *Reader's Digest ; LEGAL PROBLEM SOLVER : A Quick-and-Easy Action Guide to Canadian Law*, Montréal, The Reader's Digest Association (Canada) Ltd., 1994, pp. 374-375.

NATIVE PEOPLE'S LAW CODE

The Kaianere'ko:wa, or The Law of the Great Peace, the oldest constitution of Canadian native peoples, is said to be the oldest constitution still in use in the world. Formed in about 1390, when the five founding nations, or tribes, of northeast North America unified into the Haudenosaunee (The People of the Long House), also known as the League of the Five Nations or Iroquois Confederation, its traditions are still recognized by six Iroquois tribes. (The Haudenosaunee became a six-nation confederacy when the Tuscarora joined the league early in the 18th century.) ♦

The law was transmitted in the symbolic beaded designs on the wampum belts held by the female chiefs. Particular laws and paragraphs were encoded on beaded strings. Any of these laws or regulations could be recited from the designs by the sachems, or chiefs. Such recitations were common during Long House rituals or whenever the peoples' representatives met to settle a dispute serious enough to warrant calling them together. Such a confederacy was in effect a parliament. ♦

The original five-nation treaty was forged by Dekanawida and the better-known Haiyentwatha (Hiawatha), his interpreter. The confederate council consisted of 50 *rodliyaner* (civil chiefs), divided into three brotherhoods: the older brothers (the Mohawk and Seneca); the younger brothers (the Cayuga and Oneida); and the fire-keepers (the Onondaga). Each brotherhood debated a question separately and reported to the fire-keepers, who referred the matter back and ordered a unanimous decision. If the two brotherhoods disagreed, the fire-keepers had the casting vote. If, however, the brotherhoods agreed but their decision was not in accord with that of the fire-keepers, the decision had to remain, for absolute unanimity among the Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida was the law. The council could convene to consider any question put to it, acting in effect as a supreme court.

The 50 civil chiefs were nominated by certain noble

women who carried a hereditary title in their family. The nominations were confirmed by popular councils made up of men and women, and then by the confederate council. As well as having the power to nominate rulers, the noble women could also depose them for incompetency in office.

There is no mention of private property in the native peoples' code of law. Since the concept of private ownership of land did not exist, land was considered to exist in itself and was part of the public domain—it did not confer special privileges on a particular individual. Territory held in common was inherent in the notion of a people or nation. (Even today, each time a council meeting is convened, homage is made to the land and respect expressed for its bounty.) By contrast, land in Europe was first considered a common national resource during the course of the English revolution of the mid-1600s, when Crown lands came to be regarded as common land.

The principle of federation in Canada's constitution has affinities with the territorial autonomy of the united nations of the Iroquois Confederation.

ANNEX D

TOPOLOGY OF POLITICAL CULTURE :

TERMS, NAMES AND CONCEPTS

F O R M			C O N T E N T		
NATION			STATE		
Cultural Attribute	Conceptual Identity	Methodology	Organizational Model	Conceptual Identity	Ideological Perspective
	DEMOS			POLIS	
	NATIO			PATRIA	
	LA NATION	MERE	PERE	PATRIE	
				'watan'	
MOTHERLAND	ETHNO-NATION		FAMILY	CULTURAL-MINORITY, ETHNICITY	FATHERLAND
PEOPLE	NATION	CIVIL SOCIETY	STATE	COUNTRY	SUPER-STRUCTURE
'al-sha'b al-jamahir al sha'biyyah'	'qawm'	'asabia jamahiriya'	'al-dawlah'		

	NATION			STATE	
Cultural Attribute	Conceptual Identity	Methodology	Organizational Model	Conceptual Identity	Ideological Perspective
COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS	NATIONAL-IDENTITY	INDEPENDENCE	SOVEREIGNTY	PATRIOTISM NATIONALISM	
	'qawmiyyah'	'istiqlal'	'siyadah'	'wataniyyah'	
	NATIONALITY	PLURALIST		CITIZENSHIP	LEGALITY
MUTUAL AID TREATY CONFERENCE	INTER-NATIONAL	CONSOCIATIONAL	SUMMIT	INTERNATIONAL	BALANCE OF POWER
SPECIE	LAND TERRITORIALITY	CONFEDERAL	STATE OF ISRAEL	FRONTIERS	RACE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY	CONSTITUTION	FEDERAL PRINCIPLE	GOVERNMENT	LAW	EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE
	'wihdah ittihadiyyah'				

NATION			STATE		
Cultural Attribute	Conceptual Identity	Methodology	Organizational Model	Conceptual Identity	Ideological Perspective
		PAN-ARABISM	EUROPEAN UNION		
'wihdah'	'urubah'	'al-qawmiyyah' 'al-'arabiyyah'			
		PAN-AFRICANISM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
		NGO	UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION		
	ECONOMY		N.A.F.T.A.	MARKET	
	NETWORK	UNANIMITY	MULTINATIONAL		
COLLECTIVE	NODE		SUBSIDIARY	AFFILIATE	OPTIMIZATION
TRIBE / CLAN			PROVINCE		
NATIONAL MINORITIES	COMMON WILL	NATIONAL-CULTURAL AUTONOMY		GENERAL WILL	MULTICULTURALISM

NATION			STATE		
Cultural Attribute	Conceptual Identity	Methodology	Organizational Model	Conceptual Identity	Ideological Perspective
CONSCIOUSNESS	PERSONALITY IDENTITY	PSYCHOANALYSIS	CONFLICT	SCHIZOPHRENIA	NEUROSIS
	'karamah'				
RITUAL	HERITAGE	TRADITION	REPLICATION	ETERNITY	RELIGION
'sharaf'	'khulud'	'majd'			
LANGUAGE(S)	IDENTITY	COMMUNICATION	MEDIA	IMAGE	UNIVERSALISM
HETEROGENEITY	POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS	NATIONAL MIND	DEITY(IES)	IDOLATRY	HOMOGENIZATION
			FASCISM	HEAD OF STATE	NAZISM
				'al-za'im al-awahad'	
DUALISM	RECIPROCITY	EQUALITY	HIERARCHY	COMPETITION	MONISM
			'isti'mar'	'al-inihaziyyah'	
	REVOLUTION			PUTSCH	

NATION			STATE		
Cultural Attribute	Conceptual Identity	Methodology	Organizational Model	Conceptual Identity	Ideological Perspective
	RÉVOLUTION			coup d'état	
	'al-thawrah'				
PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESS		REACTIONARY	REACTION	RACISM
'al-taqadduniyyah'			'al-raj'iyyah' ²		'shu'ubiyya'
REFLECTIVE	DIALECTIC	ISOMORPHIC ENANTIOMERIC	CAUSAL	LINEAR	SCIENTISM

² Hisham B. Sharabi, *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World : (The Middle East and North Africa)*, Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nostrand Co., inc., 1966, pp. 95-103.

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APPENDIX A

WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION ? : BASIC POSTULATES ¹

...

1. The theory of the permanent revolution now demands the greatest attention from every Marxist, for the course of the class and ideological struggle has fully and finally raised this question from the realm of reminiscences over old differences of opinion among Russian Marxists, and converted it into a question of the character, the inner connexions and methods of the international revolution in general.

¹ Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects*, New York, merit publishers, 1969, pp. 276-281.

2. With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving 'democracy and national emancipation' is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.

3. Not only the agrarian, but also the national question assigns to the peasantry -- the overwhelming majority of the population in backward countries -- an exceptional place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through the irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie. [...]

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfilment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a 'permanent' revolution.

9. The conquest of power by the proletariat does not complete the revolution, but only opens it. Socialist construction is conceivable only on the

foundation of the class struggle, on a national and international scale. This struggle, under the conditions of an overwhelming predominance of capitalist relationships on the world arena, must inevitably lead to explosions, that is, internally to civil wars and externally to revolutionary wars. Therein lies the permanent character of the socialist revolution as such, regardless of whether it is a backward country that is involved, which only yesterday accomplished its democratic revolution, or an old capitalist country which already has behind it a long epoch of democracy and parliamentarism.

10. The completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable. One of the basic reasons for the crisis in bourgeois society is the fact that the productive forces created by it can no longer be reconciled with the framework of the national state. From this follow, on the one hand, imperialist wars, on the other, the utopia of a bourgeois United States of Europe. The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.

11. The above-outlined sketch of the development of the world revolution eliminates the question of countries that are 'mature' or 'immature' for socialism in the spirit of that pedantic, lifeless classification given by the

present programme of the Comintern. Insofar as capitalism has created a world market, a world division of labour and world productive forces, it has also prepared world economy as a whole for socialist transformation.

Different countries will go through this process at different tempos. Backward countries may, under certain conditions, arrive at the dictatorship of the proletariat sooner than advanced countries, but they will come later than the latter to socialism.

A backward colonial or semi-colonial country, the proletariat of which is insufficiently prepared to unite the peasantry and take power, is thereby incapable of bringing the democratic revolution to its conclusion. Contrariwise, in a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the subsequent fate of the dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution.

12. [...]

APPENDIX B

~~~~~  
Jewish People's Liberation Organization ( J P L O ) :  
Organisation pour la liberation du Peuple Juif ( O L P J )

a Non-Zionist Declaration  
v 4.21

{ Jewish Bundist Organization - Warszawa }

~~~~~

Montréal Kébèk

January 1, 1988 CE / 5749 / 1409 - revised 1993, 1996, 1998

version 4.22 : 1998-03-16 ACE

E-mail NEWSLIST:
SaaLaHa Reconciliation Conference LIST
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We, the Jewish People, are a wandering Nation who have been seeking a secure right to live in those lands where we reside. It has been written that the Jewish nation is the most oppressed in Europe, and judging from the persistence of anti-Jewish prejudice, one has to acknowledge the distinctly historic proportion of that oppression. Never have we been permitted a continuous homeland for more than a few hundred years before another expulsion takes place. Now it seems that the possibility of complete extermination is not out of the question, judging by the degree to which the recent Nazi Holocaust was permitted to proceed. The consequences of such a reactionary demonstration of power have not been concluded, since fascism continues to function, and the response of a permanent revolutionary wave throughout the world has yet to reach its full proportions.

2. At the present time, confusion is spread by those seeking only to establish a power-base for themselves and so will attack Jewish people while posing as either anti-Zionists, German nationalists, Christian zealots, or more

recently, as 'White' Power advocates. The manipulations of the newer-Nazis and even former Nazis are by no means irrelevant as Western Nation-States have repeatedly demonstrated how much suffering they are willing to have the Jewish people endure in continuation of the various crusades launched against us and the Arab and African Muslim nations.

3. Although the Arab nation has largely been absent from the persecutions of the European Christian Nation-States, the Zionist settler-colonial organizations and parties have moved into Palestine based on the disadvantaged position of the resident population. Zionism built itself upon the Western need to make its amends when at the same time the West rejected the Jewish post-war refugees, who could not tolerate racism in Europe any longer or Stalinism in the Soviet Union. The Zionist parties accepted the Christian States' exclusion of the Jewish people from its very inception in exchange for their support. The realization of Zionism is the fulfilment of the Protestant 'restorationist' programme, which preceded it. The successes of Zionism have merely been accomplished through its assimilation to the Western Christian-Statist notions of religious militarism with its Crusader orientation towards the Middle East. The Jewish Zionists adopt the Christian image of ancient Israelites, while the actual Israelites actually had more in common with their Semitic brothers and sisters, including their common Aramaic language, rather than Hebrew. Israel resembles the 52nd state of the U.S.A. more than the Kingdom of David and Solomon (who

was also of Hittite parentage). The Jewish people need to liberate themselves from the Christian Nation-State and the ideology of Zionism which is only the colonized mentality of assimilation into the dogma of Protestantism, that sees the only place for Jewish people being in Israel.

4. The Zionists and the Arabic peoples are in a state of no war/no peace which the Israeli governments seek to perpetuate in order to suppress and maintain the Palestinians in exile. Only the balance of forces has resulted in certain limited and partial concessions towards the independence of the Palestinian People. While such concessions are welcome, these represent only the beginning of the reconciliation (SaaLaHa) process. It is obvious that the resistance of the Palestinian youth in the Intifada since 1987, the diplomatic initiatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the internal Israeli opposition of the Peace Now - Gush Shalom movement has brought about the agreements for which the Israeli and U.S. governments take credit.

5. However the Palestinians and the Jewish people are tied together by bonds stronger than war, more amiable than the antiquity, and more than each People realizes. It is not a semantic coincidence that anti-Semitism means both the Jewish and the Arabic peoples are feared and hated in the Occidental political culture. The bonds that unite Jewish and Arab people in practice extend to the degree that the Palestinian struggle should necessarily stand for the liberation of the Jewish people as well from anti-Semitism and from

Zionism; and the Jewish struggle for liberation needs to also include the liberation of the Palestinians, each in reciprocity to the other. It is evident that a common struggle against resurgent fascism is a vital necessity.

6. It is necessary to break out of the impasse constructed by the Zionists who believed that Zionism presented the only recourse for Jewish refugees, and now presents the only recourse for future security, as if the Israeli State is to be worshipped as a god. The Jewish People must be liberated from Zionist ideology by the actual fulfilment of our civil and collective rights in pluralist society, by national-cultural autonomy and possibly even territorialism. Territorial claims of course must only be considered valid if they respect such claims in general. One takes into consideration that the achievement of national auto-determination by the pursuit of independence is, of course, the right of every national entity, if only accomplished by means of the reciprocal principle, respecting mutual interests and rights.

7. Although both the WWII Allies and the Zionist movement presented Palestine as the only avenue to leave Europe for Jewish people in 1947, the reluctance of many Jewish Holocaust Survivors living in the Displaced Persons districts to become Zionist settlers enforced their emigration to North America. More recently the Zionist enterprise has not even been considered a desirable situation by Israelis themselves, who have emigrated en masse. The Jewish people in the Federation of Russia do not have even a choice in the

matter because of the U.S.A. / Canada quota system, in much the same way as they were excluded before and during World War II – with the collaboration of the Zionists.

8. It is in the interests of the Palestinian people's struggle to support the Jewish struggle against racism so that there will no longer be the apparent need for the only alternative currently presented to aid the Jewish people. The great loss of the Jewish revolutionary socialists (Bundists) to Nazism and to Stalinism has removed the most viable alternative to Zionism. There is an intertwining of the two struggles so that a solution to Palestinian-Arab oppression is circumscribed unless there is an end to Jewish oppression in general ; whether or not this conclusion is welcomed by any Palestinian party. To begin with, one cannot ignore, and so accept the existence of fascists and even Nazis presenting themselves as anti-Zionists. It should be obvious as a counter-revolutionary act, and that it serves to hinder the development of a Jewish alternative to Zionist hegemony. The same is true in return ; whether or not Jewish people accept that peace will only be achieved with the emancipation of the Palestinians - all else is conjunctural to both Peoples.

The ties that bind our two peoples are a consequence of the recent European purging of the Jewish population even though the Arab peoples had no responsibility in the Holocaust. The pertinence of the nature of Jewish existence to Arab concerns should rather be based upon the necessary world perspective with which to achieve their own national emancipation. This is a

strategic consideration which identifies racism and fascism as common concerns. Arab nationalities in Occidental countries know very well what these concerns are.

9. We shall not be enslaved, made homeless, nor killed when it is so dictated by the whims of ideology, and so we are hated whether we be Jewish or Palestinian. Why then should either of us consider the Occidental World to be our ally, and the other to be an enemy. We are of the same status, origins and oppression, and so if we cannot co-exist in peace then no-one, it seems, will be able to, because of the powers which strive for political hegemony and oligopolistic economic dictatorship.

A Jewish Alternative to Zionism

10. Together with the continuing degeneration into a social existence of perpetual war and war preparation -- called peace -- there has arisen; Yesh Gvual/There is a Frontier amongst the Israeli military, Shalom Achshav/Peace Now, a dynamic of resistance to war and its corresponding economic stagnation. Despite all the formal rationales designed to perpetuate what is universally abhorred, a Jewish opposition to the Zionist leadership and their followers of both the left and the right has emerged. This opposition is inevitable as long as we are pushed, educated, trained, ordered, tricked and

then led into fighting yet another war, a secular 'Sacrifice for Israel'. Ironically, the perpetuation of the rationale for violence has rebounded unto itself with the assassination of the Israeli Prime Minister Rabin himself, because he failed to live up to his ideology's prerequisites, by having sought to accommodate the leading Palestinian figure, the President Yassar Arafat.

11. The need and desire for a Jewish territory that is self-determinant - freed from expulsions and pogroms - has been led into the fortified ghetto being called 'Eretz Yisroel' but which actually operates as the State of Israel under the auspices of the U.S.A.

12. The territorial solution that had been sought has been converted into an absolutist religious idea, replacing the traditionalist culture and its meditative routine of ritual. Prior to the Holocaust the concept of the deity was considered to have the power to deliver the chosen people towards salvation. With the dissolution of religious ideological practice itself, there arose territorialist Zionist parties based on the surviving religious conviction that only in the Land of Israel (Cana'an) could there be formed a Jewish homeland. Such an idea was encouraged by the Christian States which were refusing entry to the Jewish refugees with the complicity of the Zionist parties.

13. However, the nature of things is that currently a greater proportion of Jewish people live in lands other than Palestine / Israel: in North America,

Russia, Europe, South America, the Near East, the Middle East, Africa, India, Pakistan, China and elsewhere. In fact less than a third of the world's more than 14 million Jewish people live under the State of Israel. The fundamental premise of Zionist theory has in practice been ignored or rejected consciously by the greater proportion of all the Jewish people, who are non-Zionists. Israel is thus not considered the sole legitimate homeland of the Jewish people.

14. The Jewish nationality exists within and without the Israeli State. However the non-Israeli Jewish communities live within an illusion of assimilation oftentimes sugar-coated in Zionist acquiescence or pretension. While the territorialist yearnings of Jewish people - to form a majoritarian society - is currently sifted into the Zionist pot, the territorial need should actually be satisfied in those areas where Jewish communities are centered, where our rights as citizens must and shall be met to truly satisfy our social existence. This is auto-determination for all the Jewish people rather than the pseudo-independence of the Israeli State.

15. Presently Zionism negates the very freedom of auto-determination, which it itself claims to represent, by attempting to submerge the Palestinian people below the level of the struggle for Inter-national auto-emancipation ; the only common definition for freedom. One's right to auto-determination is predicated upon the respect one holds for that very same right as it is held up by others. One's principled needs cannot be fulfilled unless such a right is

to be upheld for all others as well, as a principle, forging a solidarity through which we become allies on the basis of our reciprocal rights. In this way are our needs to be ensured, not by militarism. In this manner, one reaches (as did Israel Zangwill) "a land without a people for a people without a land" *, and not by means of the Israeli-supervised Sabra-Shatila massacre -- a pogrom which has ended the illusions of all who are not deluded. After the Hebron reoccurrence and the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, such anti-human outbreaks can easily be seen as being integral to the lingering status quo situation.

16. An historic turning point has been passed. Let it be universally acknowledged, as it has been by the past Director of the Planning Center of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut, Lebanon, and currently Palestinian Authority Planning Minister (Nabil Sha'ath), as early as 1977, that the Palestinian Charter;

signifies equally, that the exercise by the people of Palestine of their right of self-determination in Palestine does not include the right to exclude the palestinian Jews from Palestine, that signifies also that this right does not include the right to create in Palestine a State solely arab. The right to self-determination of the Palestinian People, applied to the jewish Palestinians, means that they must exercise this right on the land of Palestine, and that this right does not include the right of separation and consequently, the exclusion of the Arab people of Palestine. This is why the right to self-determination of Jews and of Arabs in Palestine must be exercised in common on the same land, Palestine. **

The Principle of Reciprocity is thereby acknowledged by Shaath :

that signifies the end of all States which require that the self-determination of its ethnic group assumes the exclusion of another ethnic group ... it is thus the definitive end of all States in which segregation exists de jure or de facto. **

Ethnic-cleansing then is refuted by the PLO and the hypocrisy of Zionism remains. Currently the Palestine National Authority is attempting a negotiated settlement in ambiguous terms which provides for the partial solution of two States. Further negotiations between the two States cannot be expected to produce the desired results because of the terribly unbalanced power relation.

17. According to tradition, the Jewish people are the second brothers and sisters of the Palestinian Arab People, and it should be understood that the respect given to another is the measure of the respect to be expected, in any reciprocal manner of living. We, the Jewish People, should acknowledge that the Palestinian tradition parallels the Jewish history in duration, intensity and tragedy. We recognize the historic cultural affinities with the Holy Land by the Jewish People but we do not consider our history to be exclusive of others. The Neutura Karta provide an example of Jewish residents who have lived in peace with the Palestinians in Jerusalem.

18. The one comprehensive solution presented, of an all-inclusive pluralistic Palestine, is an alternative to war ; that is, a solution poly-national

in scope, including all the Palestinians who are able to return, including the resident Jewish population and including the Druze people. The method of resolution available is an international conference of reconciliation for all concerned parties, this being an immediate necessity and possibility; a mechanism provided with some momentum by the current peace process.

However the intransigence of many Zionist Israelis will not allow them to tolerate the return of the Palestinian refugees because of their will to remain a majority. Such a paralysis could be resolved by the departure of those who insist that there is not enough space for the Palestinians' return, but many Israelis currently wish to leave if they could in any case.

Independence and Territoriality

19. The State of Israel of 1948 was not the unique first attempt to initiate a modern Jewish homeland or territory; the first attempts having been in 1791, the Czarist prison called the Pale of Settlement in western Russia, and in 1926 at Birobidjan in easternmost Russia. A true Jewish Land failed to materialize from the Bolshevik revolution, despite the Leninist promise to the Jewish Bund / Union organization of 1905. Those attempts have failed the test of viability and yet the Jewish people have continued to desire those features of life unavailable to them in the prevailing States; that is, urban national-cultural autonomy in existing settings and the need for autonomous

or independent territories. This need for a Land is evident in the worship from afar politics of the various Jewish communities towards the Israeli State, a desire which is based upon the real needs for land, security, peace and the freedom of identity and culture historically denied the Jewish people. Existing societies do not provide for these material necessities, and prevailing political doctrines do not consider these Jewish needs. However Jewish territorialism should not and need not mean the abandonment of traditional Jewish opposition to political power manipulations and Statism. Considering the failure of the Zionist project, there may be a need for such territories to accommodate 'Sephardim' and 'Ashkenazim' in their respective regions in order to facilitate the departing Israeli population who wish to remain a majoritarian society or who have no country to go to and do not wish to remain in Palestine. At the present time the Russian Jewish population is being obliged to emigrate to the Zionist State even though previous immigrants now wish to leave. The crisis in the Middle East is a world problem and should be placed in a world context. The solution to Palestinian liberation is tied to the liberation of the Jewish People worldwide. As such it is conceivable that a Ashkenazic territory could be formed to accommodate the Jewish populations of Europe, as well as the national-cultural autonomy of Sepharade in the Middle and Near East (Maghreb).

20. In this aftermath of the Nazi Holocaust, no one should deny the hostility of prevailing Occidental Nation-States to national minorities, as none

of the participants or spectators in that war of extermination have undergone a substantial transformation. The Zionist establishment follows these Nation-States in parallel, seeking to jump into the footsteps of power politics. How bizarre it is that a stockpile of at least 200 genocidal nuclear bombs with a Jericho intermediate-range missile to carry them have been accumulated by a State professing peaceful intentions and created in the aftermath of our genocide. This hypocrisy is evident in the Israeli and Zionist support for the criminal actions of the USA-led axis with respect to Iraq, Iran and the Libyan Jamahiriya.

21. Should anti-Semitism be permitted to exist because of those who do not believe it is possible to overcome racism? Is that why the Labour Zionists signed the Haavra (Transfer) Agreement so acting in complicity with the Nazi Third Reich, as early as August 1933. Does this not reveal that those who accept the existence of racism in others accept it also in themselves? Has Zionism recreated the footsteps of those whom it did not have the will to oppose? Who could dare to dictate obedience to Zionism after its adherents generally acted as spectators to the spectacle of the Holocaust?

A Jewish Revolutionary Movement

22. In the tradition of the early nationalist formation the 1897 Jewish

Bund (General Jewish Workers' League), and of prior efforts in the development of a movement of liberation, the Jewish People's Liberation Organization is based upon the work of; the Toronto-based Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews (1974), the group Canadian Jews Supporting the Palestinians (1980 UN - NGO) and, the publication *Logik un Sychel*. We are also indebted to the Israeli Committee Against the War which publicly protested the 1982 war on its very first day and so inspired the Peace Now movement of 500,000 participants.

23. The Jewish People's Liberation Organization, a non-Zionist formation acts on behalf of the Jewish and Palestinian Peoples to generate national emancipation in cooperation with the movement for the liberation of Palestine, as a contribution to making war unneeded and unwanted. As an ally of the Palestinian People in this struggle, we greet the Palestine National Council in solidarity.

24. Likewise, the J PLO exists as an ally of the other liberation movements operating in our common societies: New Africans/African Americans, Indigenous Peoples, Kébécoise, Chicana, Puerto Rican, African-Caribbean, or Azanian (South Africa); consequently we declare our support to the International Human Rights Association of American Minorities (NGO -- UNESCO).

~~ J PLO Basic Principles ~~

1) We call for a complete immediate withdrawal of all the Israeli military and intelligence services from the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 war, in accordance with U.N. resolutions. Withdrawal from the occupied Lebanese and Syrian territories is also a necessary precondition for peaceful relations between the Middle East societies.

2) We call for the creation of a fully independent Palestinian Country; a Civil Society with all the powers of a State, in accordance with U.N. resolutions, throughout the territories, with full U.N. membership rights, including East Jerusalem and serving as a democratic and pluralist territory for all people of Palestinian origin, serving to reunite families continuing to live in refugee camps throughout the Middle East region.

Such provisions should not be interpreted as possibly restricting the individual civil and collective rights of the Palestinians living in the Israeli administration, comprising 19% of that citizenry.

Full voting rights for all Palestinians to the Palestine National Council are necessary for those who were forced to flee Palestine during the 1948 and 1967 wars, or during the years of Israeli occupation, as well as for holders of Israeli citizenship.

Likewise Jewish residents who live in Palestinian-controlled lands in peace are assured their individual civil and collective rights.

3) These interim provisions of the peace process should lead to the formation of a pluralist and bi-national Civil Society in the land of Palestine, with a united Jerusalem based upon the dissolution of the State of Israel.

The return of Palestinians to their historic origins shall be a right according to the civil constitution formed by a Constitutional Assembly of all nations inhabiting Palestine. Such a Constitutional Assembly would receive representation by all nationalities to formulate a federation of autonomous national-cultural communities who govern only themselves and not the others. All rights will exist in reciprocity respecting land rights, water rights, subterranean resources, air passage, immigration, water routes, environmental controls, militarization, federated affiliations, alliances, international representation & etc. It should be noted that citizenship rights are governed by each autonomous nation while respecting the United Nations codes of human rights. Personal religious affiliation becomes a personal choice within each nationality itself.

Recuperation or compensation for familial properties of pre-1948 Palestine shall be established by treaty.

4) We insist upon the establishment of a nuclear free zone throughout the region so that no country possesses or prepares nuclear, biological or

chemical weapons of mass destruction. Transport of materiel used in the production of such devices shall be forbidden by all countries.

5) We furthermore call for an end to economic and political sanctions against Iraq, Iran and the Libyan Jamahiriya; except for military arms sales restrictions that are equally applied to all other key countries in the region.

6) There must be an end to the misguided policy known as 'dual-containment', designed to continue Western/US-led policies of 'divide and rule' which encourage the development of competing blocks along with continuing regional arms escalation.

7) We recognize Pan-Arabism as the functional basis of the Arab autonomous societies, thus rejecting private and external economic enterprises' interventions on the economic and political plane. The Palestinian Arab People and Palestine form an integral unit in the Pan-Arab Nation.

The world context situates the Arab Nation not only among the Third World's peoples but also amongst the nationalities that exist within the industrially developed countries as well.

8) The J PLO seeks to liberate the individual civil and collective rights of Jewish People in the context of the various societies where we reside. Our collective rights include provisions for national-cultural autonomy in particular

and auto-determination in general. It must be recognized that anti-Jewish anti-Semitism cannot be tolerated and refugee rights must be respected irrespective of the presence of the Zionist State.

9) Full voting and political rights must be accorded to all Jewish nationals throughout the world in their representation to the Jewish Congress of their society, as well as the World Jewish Congress, irrespective of any possible Zionist or religious affiliation.

10) Recognizing the tendency of privately-owned competitive economies to corrupt various State structures in the interests of fascism and in opposition to Civil Society, and acknowledging the tendency for the revolutionary process to degenerate into Statism; the J PLO seeks to further the development of the historic dynamic of Socialist Permanent Revolution.

Freiheit mit shyttvis

10/ 03 / 1998 ACE

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Kébèk

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Thoughts have wings and no person can imprison them

AVERROES - IBN RUSHD (Islamic philosopher of the XIIth century)

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Citations:

\* As formulated by Israel Zangwill (1864 - 1926)

\*\* Nabil Sha'ath, 'L'autodétermination et l'état démocratique de Palestine', p. 211-218, *Palestine: Actes du colloque Palestine*, Bruxelles, Belgique, 13-15 mai 1976, Douclot - S.N.E.D., 1977, ISBN 2-8011-0114-1, p. 213.

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Note:

'J PLO declaration' published in *THE END OF ZIONISM and the liberation of the Jewish People*, Atlanta, Georgia, Clarity Press, 1990, Appendix C, pp. 106-111, ISBN 0-932863-08-6, DS149.E63 1990.

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See also:

abraham Weizfeld, *Sabra and Shatila*, Ottawa, Jerusalem International Publishing House, 1984.

abraham Yecheskel Weizfeld Goldseider, *Nation, Society and The State : the reconciliation of Palestinian and Jewish Nationhood*, doctoral Thesis, l'Université du Québec à Montréal,

<http://bookstore.authorhouse.com/Products/SKU-000425888/NATION--SOCIETY--AND--THE-STATE.aspx>.

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APPENDIX C

HUMAN RIGHTS DOCUMENTATION

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (1966)²

Article 27

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in

² Y.N. Kly (ed.), *A Popular Guide to Minority Rights*, Published with the support of The European Human Rights Foundation, Atlanta, Clarity Press, 1995, p. 215, by the International Human Rights Association of American Minorities, (IHRAAM - NGO), Regina.

community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

DECLARATION ON THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS BELONGING TO
NATIONAL OR ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES
(1992)³

‘The General Assembly’,

‘Reaffirming’ that one of the basic aims of the United Nations, as proclaimed in its Charter, is to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

³ Kly, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-222.

‘Reaffirming’ faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,

‘Desiring’ to promote the realization of principles contained in the *Charter of the United Nations*, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, the *Declaration of the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, and the *Convention of the Rights of the Child*, as well as other relevant international instruments that have been adopted at the universal or regional level and those concluded between individual State Members of the United Nations,

‘Inspired’ by the provisions of article 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* concerning the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities,

‘Considering’ that the promotion and protection of the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities contribute to the political and social stability of States in which they live,

'Emphasizing' that the constant promotion and realization of the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, as an integral part of the development of society as a whole and within a democratic framework based on the rule of law, would contribute to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation among peoples and State,

'Considering' that the United Nations has an important role to play regarding the protection of minorities,

'Bearing in mind' the work done so far within the United Nations system, in particular the Commission on Human Rights, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities as well as the bodies established pursuant to the International Covenants on Human Rights and other relevant international human rights instruments on promoting and protecting the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities,

'Taking' into account the important work which is carried out by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in protecting minorities and in promoting the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities,

'Recognizing' the need to ensure even more effective implementation of

international instruments with regard to the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities,

‘Proclaims’ this *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* :

‘Article 1’

1. States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.

2. States shall adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve those ends.

‘Article 2’

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (hereinafter referred to as persons belonging to minorities) have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference of any form of discrimination.

2. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life.
3. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in decisions on the national and, where appropriate, regional level concerning the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live, in a manner not incompatible with national legislation.
4. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain their own associations.
5. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain, without any discrimination, free and peaceful contacts with other members of their group, with persons belonging to other minorities, as well as contacts across frontiers with citizens of other States to whom they are related by national or ethnic, religious or linguistic ties.

'Article 3'

1. Persons belonging to minorities may exercise their rights including those as set forth in this Declaration individually as well as in community with other members of their group, without any discrimination.
2. No disadvantage shall result for any person belonging to a minority as the consequence of the exercise or non-exercise of the rights as set forth in this Declaration.

'Article 4'

1. States shall take measures where required to ensure that persons belonging to minorities may exercise fully and effectively all their human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law.
2. States shall take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of national law and contrary to international standards.
3. States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.
4. States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education, in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the society as a whole.
5. States should consider appropriate measures so that persons belonging to minorities may participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

'Article 5'

1. National policies and programmes shall be planned and implemented with due regard for the legitimate interests of persons belonging to minorities.
2. Programmes of cooperation and assistance among States should be planned and implemented with due regard for the legitimate interests of persons to minorities.

'Article 6'

States should cooperate on questions relating to persons belonging to minorities, including exchange of information and experiences, in order to promote mutual understating and confidence.

'Article 7'

States should cooperate in order to promote respect for the rights as set forth in this Declaration.

'Article 8'

1. Nothing in this Declaration shall prevent the fulfilment of international obligations of States in relation to persons belonging to minorities. In particular, States shall fulfil in good faith the obligations and commitments they have assumed under international treaties and agreements to which they are parties.
2. The exercise of the rights as set forth in this Declaration shall not prejudice the enjoyment by all persons of universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms.
3. Measures taken by States in order to ensure the effective enjoyment of the rights as set forth in this Declaration shall not 'prima facie' be considered contrary to the principle of equality contained in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
4. Nothing in this Declaration may be construed as permitting any activity contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, including sovereign equality, territorial integrity and political independence of States.

'Article 9'

The organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system shall contribute to the full realization of the rights and principles as set forth in this Declaration, within their respective fields of competence.

APPENDIX D

LES NATIONS DANS LE CONTEXTE INTER-NATIONAL

par Abraham Weizfeld (v.3.6)

< saalaha@fokus.name >

novembre-décembre 1998

la revue *POSSIBLES* Volume 23, numéro 2, février 1999 printemps

La conception de la Nation d'un survivant de deuxième génération du génocide Nazi est très différente de celle qui peut prévaloir par exemple pour l'État américain.

La différence en terme de rapport au pouvoir est très claire, tout comme l'écart entre la réalité nationale de la plupart des petites Nations et ces

États-Nations forteresses si courants aujourd'hui et qui font envie à la plupart des autres peuples. On peut penser par exemple, aux nations québécoises, kurdes, palestiniennes et juives, et à beaucoup d'autres. Celles qui bénéficient d'une continuité territoriale aspirent à la constitution d'une institution étatique qui représente leur Nation. D'autres, qui ne vivent pas à l'intérieur d'un territoire défini, peuvent tout de même aspirer à instaurer une Terre commune, sur la base de laquelle ils deviendraient « une Nation semblable aux autres Nations ». La problématique qui découle de ces éléments est la question de la nature de la représentation de la Nation, et comment celle-ci touche ceux qui sont affectés de par leur proximité et ceux qui vivent à l'intérieur de la juridiction en question. Cela nous amène au coeur de la fameuse dichotomie entre "le Moi et Autrui" et des tentatives jusqu'à présent vaines pour la résoudre.

D'ici l'an 2000, il est probable que les peuples Québécois et Palestiniens auront proclamé l'indépendance de leur État, réalisant ainsi la conception qu'ils ont d'eux-mêmes en tant que Nation. La quête de l'indépendance est le sujet de cet article, dans lequel je m'appuie en particulier sur l'exemple donné par le Peuple Juif au cours de sa lutte pour sa survie et son identité. Nous sommes aujourd'hui témoin de la volonté de l'État d'Israël de s'affirmer comme entité homogène au dépens de territoires habités par la Nation Palestinienne, devenue ainsi « les victimes parmi les victimes » selon l'expression d'Edward Said. Le problème ici vient de ce que l'État se pose

comme un impératif, et présente sa raison d'être comme une idéologie, comme c'est le cas pour le Sionisme. Pourtant, dans l'histoire du Peuple Juif au cours du siècle dernier, le Sionisme n'a été qu'une des deux grandes tendances qui ont marqué sa culture politique. La seconde, qui est opposée à la première, est représentée par le Bund (Union générale des ouvriers juifs), lequel s'est constitué la même année que le Mouvement Sioniste, à savoir en 1897. Sa politique Bundist d'alors reflète les revendications territoriales de l'époque et la position du social-démocrate austro-hongrois Otto Bauer qui prenait la possibilité d'une autonomie culturelle et nationale pour la Nation Juive dans le cadre d'une société pluraliste. Sans tomber dans l'erreur de l'exclusivisme en identifiant l'une (la Nation) à l'autre (la Société), on peut déceler la Nation en émergence dans l'environnement social existant, côte à côte avec les autres communautés nationales, l'ensemble formant cette Société Civile particulière.

L'évolution du concept de Société autonome s'est nourrie des différentes expériences révolutionnaires au cours des siècles passés.

L'objectif d'établissement d'une Société Civile a été abandonné tant par les forces révolutionnaires qui cherchaient plutôt à s'emparer du pouvoir en remplaçant un État par un autre -- que par les libéraux-démocrates, en substituant à la volonté générale sa représentation par un parti politique -- et que par les révolutions nationales, qui ont laissé aux bourgeoisies nationales

le pouvoir de représenter la Nation. Alors même que l'équivalence des concepts d'État et de Nation est affirmée comme évidente, la Société Civile, elle, a été ignorée et maintenue dans une situation de subordination par rapport à la superstructure étatique. Il est pourtant clair que c'est en fait la Société Civile elle-même qui abrite la Nation et permet sa survie. Il faut cependant être précis concernant le mode de formation d'une Nation indépendante à partir d'une nébuleuse sociale. Sans commettre l'erreur assimilationniste de les considérer l'un et l'autre comme identiques, il est néanmoins possible de repérer l'émergence d'une Nation dans un environnement social, à côté des autres communautés nationales, l'ensemble constituant une Société Civile donnée. À la suite de cette reconnaissance mutuelle, il est indispensable de permettre la consolidation de l'identité de chacune des formations existantes dans cette société grâce à la garantie d'une représentation à l'Assemblée Constituante convoquée dans le but de renforcer la nouvelle Société indépendante.

Le Mouvement social et la Société Civile

Dans la société civile, le «Conseil Social» à l'état embryonnaire prend habituellement la forme d'un Rassemblement pour une alternative politique. On y voit alors les délégués des diverses tendances politiques et sociales

s'organiser et se regrouper en fonction de leur nature et affinités respectives. Si la loi constitutionnelle de la société naissante parvient à trouver sa propre cohérence réciproque à travers la reconnaissance des formations qui en constituent la base, elle peut alors espérer réussir une révolution «tranquille» non-violente. Ceci implique cependant que le Conseil Social opère selon un principe essentiel, à savoir le Principe de réciprocité. (1) Et c'est celui-ci qui donne son sens au concept de Pluralisme. Ce concept a reçu son application la plus achevée dans l'autonomie nationale-culturelle selon Otto Bauer, théoricien du Parti Social-Démocrate viennois des années 20. Son projet de fédération statut cantonal, provincial ou bien municipal aux communautés nationales (ainsi qu'aux communautés sociales, ou formations sociales). Malheureusement ce projet ne vu jamais le jour, et d'ailleurs notre Peuple Juif n'était pas considéré comme une Nation. L'absence de reconnaissance du Peuple Juif comme Nation tient au fait que le droit à cette reconnaissance était monopolisé par les tenants d'une conception étatiste qui l'appliquèrent en dépit de l'existence d'autres conceptions. En effet l'État ne reconnaît habituellement qu'une seule Nation. On rencontre la même contradiction dans le cas du Canada -- l'absence de reconnaissance du Québec ou des Québécois par l'État-Nation avec à sa tête la Reine d'Angleterre. Ce Dominion du Canada, cette Confédération, ou encore cette Union des Canadas comme on l'appelait, est incapable d'assimiler près du tiers de sa population alors qu'il le fait avec des nationalités moins nombreuses. Pour ce qui est de la Terre du Québec, elle n'inclut en fait que la majorité de la Nation

Québécoise, pour peu qu'on aille au-delà des frontières de l'État. Il y a des millions de Québécois qui vivent dans les États américains du Vermont, du Massachusetts, de la Louisiane et de la Floride, de sorte qu'il serait plus approprié de nommer cette société civile Kébèk selon sa dénomination franco-Algonquin commune. Le Peuple des Kébèkois-es se trouve encore dans les provinces canadiennes elles-mêmes. Une autre nationalité appartenant à la société civile du Kébèk est le peuple Acadien du Nouveau Brunswick et de la Louisiane. En tout et pour tout, cette société civile francophone nord-américaine regroupe de 15 à 20 millions de personnes, comparés aux 7 millions dans la territoire de Québec.

La conception étatiste ne tient pas compte de l'existence de plus d'une culture dont témoigne la présence de langues autres que celles répandues. Si l'anglais est reconnu, avec les Lois 101 et 66, ce n'est pas le cas d'autres langues.

Au cours du processus par lequel cette Société s'instituera en tant que pays indépendant, la Convention constitutionnelle, ou Assemblée, se devra d'accueillir les délégués des différentes communautés nationales, sur la base d'une représentation proportionnelle, avec les autres formations sociales; ainsi serait formée l'Assemblée Constituante. L'application du Principe de Réciprocité conduit alors le processus qui mène à une Fédération de fédérations (2), dans une Société commune. Cette Société indépendante cherche ensuite à conclure des traités ayant force de loi commune avec d'autres Sociétés indépendantes semblables. Tel est le véritable sens de l'Inter-

Nationalisme. La formation sociale qui entreprend d'accomplir un tel projet est donc tenue de respecter le but fixé et d'appliquer le même principe de réciprocité en reconnaissant toutes les formations sociales qui se considèrent comme des Nations, de quelque façon qu'elles se définissent. On légitime le sens qu'on donne à l'«autodétermination» en reconnaissant le même droit aux autres, le principe étant valable pour tous les membres de la Société. Ainsi donc, le Conseil Social et ses formations sociales naissantes doivent solliciter une représentation de chacune des communautés nationales. Les délégués des nationalités participeront donc de façon consensuelle à l'élaboration du cadre constitutionnel. (3) L'autonomie inhérente à chacune des formations nationales constituées se reflète dans l'autonomie des divers comités sectoriels qui forment ensemble un comité autonome des nationalités, celui-ci pouvant présenter des propositions au Comité de Coordination ou au Secrétariat pour qu'elles soient appliquées dans l'ensemble. Constitué de cette façon, un mouvement social aurait alors l'autorité d'interpeller l'État en place au nom de la Société Civile afin de contester l'appareil légal, créant une situation pré-révolutionnaire (l'opposition extraparlamentaire). Conjointement à l'organisation politique dans sa dimension électorale et autre, la prédominance de la Société Civile en face de l'État dans une société indépendante serait ainsi assurée. Le programme électoral du Parti de la démocratie socialiste comporte le droit à l'autodétermination des Nations Autochtones, allant jusqu'à l'indépendance. En revanche, dans le cas du Parti Travaille social-démocrate israélien a toujours subsisté une contradiction entre la reconnaissance de la

nationalité israélienne et non de celle des autres nations, tels les Palestiniens. C'est un trait typique de la conception étatiste telle qu'elle est incarnée par l'État d'Israël. On ne s'étonnera pas dans ces conditions que le Parti Québécois considère l'ambassadeur d'Israël comme le représentant de la communauté juive. De toute évidence, cela ne laisse guère de chance à une reconnaissance locale de la nationalité juive en tant que telle par un État Indépendant du Québec. (4)

Parmi les autres limitations impliquées par la conception étatiste de l'Indépendance, mentionnons la proposition de conserver l'infrastructure économique de l'État Canadien, telle que la monnaie sous le contrôle de la Banque du Canada, l'Accord de Libre Échange Nord-Américain (ALÉNA), l'OTAN, le NORAD, les lois sur les privilèges corporatifs, le Code Criminel, et la Monarchie Britannique. Un Conseil Social traitera les conditions économiques aussi bien que politiques comme des priorités. Établi initialement comme Assemblée Constituante, le Conseil Social restera en place en tant que nouvelle Chambre Haute de l'appareil gouvernemental. Dans cette optique, l'embryonnaire Rassemblement pour l'alternative politique, peut contribuer au processus de transformation sociale.

1. L'application sérieuse de ce Principe est développée dans la dissertation;
'La réciprocité et le nationalisme', 1990, par abraham Weizfeld.

La présentation approfondie du sujet ici est complétée dans ma Thèse doctorale:

NATION, SOCIÉTÉ ET L'ÉTAT : LE RAPPROCHEMENT DES NATIONS PALESTINIENNE ET JUIVE.

2. *LE PRINCIPE FÉDÉRAL (Du Principe fédératif et de la nécessité de reconstituer le parti de la révolution)*, était premier proposé par Pierre Joseph Proudhon.

3. Dans l'effet l'organisation sociale trouvait actuellement dans la Peuple Socialiste Jamahiriha Arabe Libyen, fondé 1969. (Cette théorie d'organisation sociale est nom le Troisième Théorie Universelle et définit une Société sans un gouvernement mais plutôt Assemblée d'un Gens fixant dehors ses frais propres autonome et influençant par les comités révolutionnaires d'activistes politiques.)

4. Durant cette dernière campagne électorale de 1998 mon nom était présenté sur le scrutin dans le Compte 60% Juif de D'arcy-McGee sur la part du Parti de la démocratie socialiste et le Chignon/Bund Juif (les révolutionnaire

ouvriers Juifs socialistes échangé le mouvement syndicat et parti politique d'avant-guerre de l'est Europe). Parmi la nationalité Juive le mouvement Bundist contredisait les parties politiques zionistes en considérant la population Juive comme un tout, et ne juste ses membres propres de parti qui constituaient pas la base de qu'appareil pre - État .

Actuellement mon travail est porté sur le groupe Organisation pour la libération du Peuple Juif (OLPJ-JPLO) comme un moyens à régénérer le mouvement Bund/Chignon Juif, dans la solidarité réciproque avec le mouvement révolutionnaire Palestinien.

PROGRAMME SOCIAL
ADDENDUM DU DOCUMENT POLITIQUE
NATIONS DANS LE CONTEXTE INTER-NATIONAL

Soumission par Abraham Weizfeld

13/04/1999 - v2

1. Les communautés nationales

- 1.1 Reconnaissant qu'un indépendant Société Québécois est une formation pluraliste avec un Nation majoritaire Francophone Québécois,
- 1.2 et que la langue commune de discours est Française,
- 1.3 il est de plus reconnu ces langues de minorités sont les moyens opératoires de communication entre une nationalité de minorité particulière.
- 1.4 Considérant que les communautés nationales sont constituées comme tellès dans des termes de leur soi-reconnaissance, que

références à "minorités ou communautés culturelles", "ethniques" ou autrement être considérées que descriptives des entités sociales données les plaçant et droits des communautés nationales.

1.5 En outre, il est réitéré ici que les indigènes premières nations exercent leur droit autonome à autodétermination dans la Société constituée pour faire suite à la langue, instruction, économie, et territoire, jusqu'à et incluant le droit à indépendance.

1.6 Il est aussi reconnu que les communautés nationales exercent en général leur droit à autonome co-habitation dans la réciprocité avec le droit à l'autodétermination du Nation Québécois.

2. Structure Sociale

2.1 Considérant la nécessité de représentation sur la part du Société Civile Québécois, il devient nécessaire à établir une chambre supérieure dans l'appareil gouverner d'une Société indépendante qui réfléchit les intérêts de la population comme distingue des intérêts générés par L'état.

- 2.2 Reconnaissant que Société Civile est composée de divers corps qui ont été formés par les divers formations sociales, basés à classe, nation, genre, et génération spécifique,
- 2.3 que chaque formation aussi sociale retient son existence autonome dans la conjonction avec que de la Société à grand,
- 2.4 il devient nécessaire à former une Assemblée Sociale qui reçoit sa représentation des divers organisations représentant ces formations sociales,
- 2.5 que ces délégations sont formées sur une base proportionnelle, sont irrévocable, et responsables à leurs affiliations organisationnelles propres,
- 2.6 que ces délégués sont sélectionnés par l'élection populaire dans leur constituant formation sociale et corps organisationnel.
- 2.7 L'assemblée Sociale est initiée par la convocation d'une Assemblée Constitutionnelle qui formule les conditions de la constitution sociale et L'assemblée Sociale dans le particulier,
- 2.8 que la composition de l'assemblée constitutionnelle proposée

correspond aux conditions présentée pour la formation de l'Assemblée Sociale,

- 2.9 et que les conclusions de cette assemblée relèvent sur l'appareil gouverner dans la perpétuité avec le recours à l'Assemblée Sociale,
- 2.10 et que les formulations proposées de la constitution sociale être ratifiées par le référendum populaire simultané dans les divers formations sociales autonomes.
- 2.11 De plus, que L'assemblée Sociale est constituée sur une régionale, classe, citoyen, genre et génération base spécifique comme une Assemblée Sociale Fondamentale,
- 2.12 que l'assemblée Sociale Fondamentale est assemblée sur une base autonome relativement à des intérêts spécifiques et une affectation proportionnelle des ressources sociales,
- 2.13 que L'assemblée Sociale Fondamentale sélectionne son Secrétariat à réaliser sa volonté collective,
- 2.14 avec le secrétariat fondamental devenant un constituant du

secrétariat général formant lui-même exécuter la volonté de l'Assemblée Sociale Générale.

- 2.15 L'assemblée Sociale Générale réfère ses propositions pour des projets sociaux à la parlementaires gouvernant la structure pour la mise-en-oeuvre dans la loi, et les affectations budgétaires générales,
- 2.16 que les formulations proposées reçues du gouvernement être considérées par l'Assemblée Sociale Générale pour la révision, consultation ou confirmation.

3. Les formations organisationnelles

- 3.1 Considérant que le Parti de la démocratie socialiste (PDS - Parti de la démocratie-socialiste) est formé comme la représentation organisationnelle d'ouvriers, femmes et étudiants, il doit être attendu que certains de ses membres étaient parmi les fondateurs de l'organisation sociale Rassemblement pour une alternative politique (RAP) considérant l'opposition commune au neo-libérales partis politiques électorales PQ, PLQ, et

l'ADQ-emd,

- 3.2 qu'en outre, le RAP retient le potentiel à former une assemblée sociale embryonnaire en représentant les intérêts de l'émergeant la société civile indépendante de Québec,
- 3.3 reconnaissant que le RAP est un hetrogenous formation organisationnelle, étant constitué ensemble avec autres formations politiques telles que le MQS (Mouvement pour une Québec Souverain) comme un front uni,
- 3.4 que le PDS entretiendra son existence organisationnelle comme un mouvement et parti politique indépendante,
- 3.5 il est approprié à formuler une stratégie électorale commune parmi les divers tendances politiques qui sont formés ou formés dans le RAP, affectant certaines comptes à une ou l'autre formation électorale si et quand possible dans l'sanctionnement réciproque.

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APPENDIX E

THE ABRAHAMIC TRADITION

Chapter submitted to the work
Palestine and Israel : Conflict and Change

1997-2001

by Abraham Y. Weizfeld

version 1

Introduction

It has been my experience during the last twenty-nine years of political interventions on behalf of the Palestinian Nation that as the Occidental public's perception of the State of Israel became more aware of its chauvinist inclinations the opposition to the Zionist movement has become broader and much more diversified. The anti-Zionist and non-Zionist opposition now extends to the head of State in France, Jean-Jacque Chirac, as well as various fascists and Nazis. However, many in the Jewish communities have changed as well and the Jewish opposition now numbers up to half of the Jewish People as a whole. This opposition in its various manifestations appears as the Leftism of Bundists, Anarchists, Trotskyists, Luxemburgists, Deutscherists, Leninists and Leninist-Stalinists; or, may be composed of Orthodox religious adherents of the Messianic tradition that do not deify the State as the manifestation of a miracle, such as the Neturei Karta (1), and the Samtar communities in the Orthodox anti-Zionist coalition Eda Haredit , or others such as Yeshayahu Leibowitz. The split in the Israeli Jewish population has now isolated the fascistic elements in the Jewish population to the point where they may be perceived as lunatic actions representing no particular ends, such as the Rabbi Doctor or the two soldiers in Hebron January 1, 1997 who worship the State as a holy entity in their futile war for exclusivity.

Many myths have been dissolved over the years when the Communist

State's support of the Palestine Liberation Organization was considered its defining characteristic and reason for survival as a resistance movement. Another myth was the unwillingness of the Palestinians to negotiate who had created their own downfall because of their own stubbornness. Both these conditions do not exist anymore and so a revolution in consciousness has passed over the Jewish people as a whole, and it is still deepening its effects as the negotiations endure still longer.

In opposition to the Zionist-led Jewish organizations and the associated political parties, even the disparate Jewish communities are experiencing the birth pains of their own opposition. Now it is legitimate to express an alternative view to the disciplined directive usually filtered down through the Jewish societies. Within the Zionist parties there is rising voices for a settlement to the extent that even the Likud Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu talks of co-existence. Whether this means apartheid-like conditions or mutual reciprocity is another matter.

Nonetheless there is reason to be concerned as the opportunistic political tendencies send their tentacles into the Palestinian milieu. In Beirut Lebanon it has been common to see the anti-semitic anti-Jewish essays of Henry (Henrich) Ford and recently an Arab language translation of Hitler's manual *Mein Kampf*. The Jewish opposition is late in arriving and must make up for the lost credibility of the Jewish people by opposing the rise of Nazi

tendencies wherever they may appear. The greatest of injuries has been done to the Jewish People by the Zionist movement. The fascist eruptions given a place to be nurtured in the Israeli State have come close to destroying the reservoir of respect that has accumulated since the end of the Holocaust. Much of that reservoir no doubt was filled with the admiration for the military prowess of the Israeli Defence Force but there has been some acknowledgment of the Christian religion's responsibility for the anti-Jewish persecutions over the ages. With the dissipation of militarism and the loss of consciousness of the Christian role in the Holocaust, the Jewish people are again considered morally inferior and as such subject to future persecutions. This is not to say that we the Jewish people are ourselves responsible for our own persecution, since the Zionist movement was cultivated in the political culture of the European Nation-State and the Protestant reformation. The assimilated perceptions of European political culture impregnated the Zionist affiliated Jewish people with the spirit of hierarchical exclusivity in both nationality and class. Furthermore, the dominance of Zionist thought amongst the Jewish population was more so a function of their isolation in North America as well as the elimination of the Jewish opposition by the Nazis and their agents. One can also refer to the assassination of Adler and Erlich, the two leaders of the Polish Jewish Bundist organization by the Marxist State dictator Joseph Stalin as well as the elimination of the Jewish leading cadres in the Russian Communist Party, including the organizer of the 1905 revolution Lev Bronstein (Leon Trotsky). The regeneration of a Jewish national liberation

movement which is not Statist has taken too long and must now assume the task of educating not only the Jewish people but also the Leftists and the Arab Nation as well. The Jewish People's Liberation Organization declaration placed as an addendum following this contribution is based on the traditions that are elaborated in this chapter following.

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In the Abrahamic tradition there is much to be appreciated in contrast to the ideology of Zionism. In two aspects in particular, there are serious lessons to be appreciated. The first is the nature of societal relations with other nations as neighbours. And the second is the guilt in self-consciousness of having sacrificed one son to exile in the desert and so being obliged in reciprocity to sacrifice the second son to whom he wished to guarantee his covenant. The dishonourable role of Sarah (Sar'ai) in asking for the exile of Ishmail and Haj'jar his mother, her Egyptian slave, together with the obedience of Abraham, led him to accept the serious consequences of the obligation placed upon him when he heard the command to sacrifice his second son Isaac. The refusal to accept Ishmail together with Isaac is equivalent to the rejection of national co-existence that was the corner stone of the Zionist enterprise. The perversion of Israel Zangwill's (2) saying that the Jewish people need "a land without a people for a people without a land" to represent Palestine-Ca'naan is the sacrifice of another people who are also the

descendants of Abraham and who revere the patriarch as such. The massacre in 1994 at the mosque of the Tomb of Abraham was an attempt at denial. If Ishmail is to be denied then so must David and Solomon be denied as being of the Jewish nation since they were the descendants of a Moabite woman, Ruth.

In the first instance that the Abrahamic tradition leaves us, mentioned above, that being the nature of treaty relations that Abraham established with his neighbouring nations, we should be impressed by the reciprocal relations established.

National Autonomy

Alongside the hierarchical conceptions of the nation rest the social conventions of inter-national relations based in mutual recognition and accord. It is recorded that Abraham ben Te'rah (A'bram initially and commonly referred to as Abraham Avinu) on behalf of the Hebrews, made a covenant with the Philis'tines concerning a water well;

22 Now it came about at that time that A.bim'e.lech together with Phi'col the chief of his army said to Abraham: '... So now swear to me here by God that you will not prove false to me and to my offspring and to my posterity; that, according to the loyal love with which I have dealt with you, you will deal with me and with the land in which you have been residing as an alien.' 24 So Abraham said: 'I shall swear.' ... Abraham took sheep and cattle and gave them to

A.bim'e.lech, and both of them proceeded to conclude a covenant. ... 31 That is why he called that place Be'ershe'ba, because there both of them had taken an oath. 32 So they concluded a covenant at Be'ershe'ba ... 34 And Abraham extended his residence as an alien in the land of the Philis'tines many days.¹

Soon after, Abraham made another agreement for the burial site for his wife Sarah (Sar'ai) at Kir'i.ath-ar'ba (He'bron) in the land of Ca'naan with members of the Hit'tite nation.

4 ' An alien resident and settler I am among YOU. Give me the possession of a burial place among YOU that I may bury my dead out of my sight '. ... Abraham got up and bowed down to the natives, to the sons of Heth ... 16 Accordingly Abraham listened to E'phron, and Abraham weighed out to E'phron the amount of silver that he had spoken in the hearing of the sons of Heth, four hundred silver shekels current with the merchants. 17 Thus the field of E'phron that was in Mach.pe'lah, which is in front of Mam're, the field and the cave that was in it and all the trees that were in the field, which were within all its boundaries round about, became confirmed 18 to Abraham as his purchased property before the eyes of the sons of Heth among all those entering the gate of his city.²

¹ *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, New York, Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 1961, p. 30 (Genesis 21: 22-34), and, *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs*, edited by the late Chief Rabbi Dr. J.H. Hertz, C.H., London, Soncino Press, 5713-1952, p. 73.

² *Holy Scriptures*, op. cit., p. 31-32 (Genesis 23: 1-20), and, *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs*, op. cit., pp. 82-84.

Further still, the procedure followed in establishing a civil code is confirmed in the context of a wrongdoing. In the description of events provided, Jacob (Israel) arrives at the city of She'chem in the land of Ca'naan;

Then he acquired a tract of the field where he pitched his tent at the hand of the sons of Ha'mor the father of She'chem, for a hundred pieces of money. [...]

Now Di'nah the daughter of Le'ah, whom she had borne to Jacob, used to go out to see the daughters of the land. And She'chem the son of Ha'mor the Hi'vite, a chieftain of the land, got to see her and then took her and lay down with her and violated her. ... the two sons of Jacob, Sim'e.on and Le'vi, brothers of Di'nah, proceeded to take each one his sword and to go unsuspectedly to the city and to kill every male. And Ha'more and She'chem his son they killed with the edge of the sword. Then they took Di'nah from She'chem's house and went on out. [...]

At this Jacob said to Sim'e.on and to Le'vi: ' You have brought ostracism upon me in making me a stench to the inhabitants of the land, with the Ca'naan.ites and the Per'iz.zites; whereas I am few in number, and they will certainly gather together against me and assault me and I must be annihilated, I and my house.' [...]

Then Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him: ' Put away the foreign gods that are in the midst of YOU and cleanse yourselves and change; YOUR mantles, and let us rise and go up to Beth'el. And there I shall make an altar to the [true] God who answered me in the day of my distress in that he proved to be with me in the way that I have gone '.³

In the manner of these three examples, the civil code was upheld as the

³ *Holy Scriptures, op. cit.*, pp. 47-50, (Genesis 34: 1-31, 35: 1-29), and, *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs, op. cit.*, pp. 127-131.

practise and tradition of the civil society functioning in the antiquity. Evidently, there is not just one manner of treatment advocated concerning other nationalities then. The contradictory tendencies active in the national consciousness of the antiquity represent the hierarchical and pluralist expressions of the same national identity.

JUDAISM

the messianic idea as an empirical datum
throughout the history of Judaism.⁴

is Yeshayahu Leibowitz's identification of a prime motivating force in the political culture of the Jewish Nation, as well as being found in the belief systems of other cultures.

Messianism as Form (in the form of) is given the content of a material entity, which may be an individual as a source of law, a monarchist messiah like Christ, a lord, a living god, or Messianism may be given another material form like a land, a holy land, this is Zionism. This is the collective redemption, and it is shared with messianic Protestantism emanating from the

⁴ Yeshayahu Leibowitz, *Judaism, Human Values, and the Jewish State*, Cambridge, London, Harvard University Press, 1992, ISBN 0-674-48775-3, LCCN Bm45.L378 1992.

Reformation's Nation-State creation.

Leibowitz provides us with another manner of content to Messianism, one without a Messiah, but as an eternal struggle to live in the present as it is. Marx presented Messianism as both the class revolution acting out the end of history and all its social contradictions; as well as the Messiah -- himself. However Leibowitz has a point to his conception which is not invalid; it is the methodology of existence that is key, rather than a utopian perfectability.

The messianic process then opens itself as a discourse on method or, the implementation of the Halakhah, "a system of halakhic praxis".⁵ Leibowitz continues elsewhere in his A Call for the Separation of Religion and State (1959), to disown the current practice to link The State of Israel with the Covenant or with Messianism.

We have no right to link the emergence of the state of Israel to the religious concept of messianic redemption ... There is no justification for enveloping this political-historical event in an aura of holiness.⁶ The state, as such, has no religious value. No state ever had. Political achievements, conquests, victories -- none of these are religiously significant. Who 'restored the border of Israel from the entering of Hamath to the sea of the Aravah,' and "recovered Damascus and Hamath which had belonged to Judah in Israel" (2 Kings 14) ? Who was the greatest of warriors and conquerors among the Israelites ?

⁵ Yeschayahu Leibowitz, *ibid.*, p. 73 (see p. 13).

⁶ Y. Leibowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

"The King Yarov'am the son of Joash," who "did that which was evil in the sight of God and departed not from all the sins of Yarov'am the son of Nevat" (ibid.). ... the tremendous events summed up in those two verses left no mark in the religious consciousness of Israel.⁷

It is precisely the method of emancipation that is at the foundation of politics. The dictum in Jewish Halakhic law that "one should their neighbour as they would themselves I am your God" is only one of 613 laws. The lack of priority leads to the ambiguous position dependent upon the question of security. The interpretation of the former reciprocal law as a principle determines that the methodology of political action requires a reciprocal justification. One's own national liberation loses its justification if it were to become dependent upon the loss of another nation's freedom or even existence. The lack of reciprocity is an indication of false consciousness leading to idealization of reality corresponding to the ideology propagated by the Zionist State. The hegemony of this ideology has now broken down amongst the Jewish people.

RECIPROCITY

When the PLO wants peace (evident since Arafat's United Nations General Assembly speech in 1982) and the government of Israel did not want

⁷ Y. Leibowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 216, 'Religion, People, State', pp. 14-21

to negotiate, it makes sense to support the PLO if one wanted peace. Although we do not have peace now, there is a cease fire with the more significant sector of the Palestinian political scene. Nevertheless if one thought that the current state of affairs is horrible then one can think back to what has been experienced by previous generations during the five wars that have resulted in tens of thousands of Jewish deaths alone. What do the Zionist parties propose, to send our children to risk their lives in yet another. This sacrifice to the alter of the State has been repeated far too many times to be taken for some messianic fulfilment. The Fatah leadership of Arafat has not indicated that it harbours the intention of confronting the Israeli military with its limited armed forces and so such an incident would be very surprising. However this has not meant that the PLO has surrendered to the might of the IDF (Israel Defence Force). Like the David confronting the Goliath the Palestinians continue their struggle until revolution, a people offering their own children in sacrifice for the sake of their future liberty while the Zionists make an offering of their children for the sake of the State.

When we stopped the Intifada we did not stop the Jihad to establish Palestine with Jerusalem as our capital.... We know only one word: Jihad, Jihad, Jihad.... We are at conflict with the Zionist movement.

--- Yasser Arafat, in a speech at the Dehaishe refugee camp near Bethlehem, 22 October 1996, *Yediot Aharonot*, 23 October 1996.

There is not yet peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Oslo

I & II are terms for a cease-fire basically. The inserted definition of Jihad is not complete, the concept is more general than presumed and includes struggle in all forms, including political revolution.

“We sacrifice our blood and ourselves for Palestine!”

--- Response chanted by the Palestinian crowd to Arafat's above call for war, *Arutz-7 Radio*, 23 October 1996.

This means that the Palestinians are willing to die in order to demonstrate their frustration in their own streets because the Israeli soldiers are willing to follow orders to shoot them dead. The Palestinians throw stones at Israeli soldiers who attempt to force them to retreat from demonstrating. The Zionist position however wishes us to believe that the Palestinians are only willing suicide bombers.

“There is no doubt we must be prepared for all contingencies.”

--- Yasser Arafat, in a speech to the Palestinian legislative council in Ramallah, 10 October 1996, *The Jerusalem Post*, 11 October 1996.

The remark was widely interpreted as threatening future violence if his demands were not met.

"If Israel rejects our demands there will be a reaction and we have a 30,000 man armed force."

--- Yasser Arafat, quoted by Israel Radio reporter Yoni Ben Menachem, 7 June 1996.

The Israelis are mistaken if they think we do not have an alternative to negotiations. By Allah I swear they are wrong. The Palestinian people are prepared to sacrifice the last boy and the last girl so that the Palestinian flag will be flown over the walls, the churches and the mosques of Jerusalem.

--- Yasser Arafat, in a speech given on 6 August 1995 at a celebration for the birth of his daughter, *Ha'aretz*, 6 September 1995, and, *The Jerusalem Post*, 7 September 1995.

Without full Palestinian rights with a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital there won't be peace. ... We can't rule out a return to the gun. If Israel can't meet its obligations the peace will be destroyed.

--- Yasser Arafat's spokesman Nabil Aburodeina, interview with *Independent Media Review and Analysis*, 17 April 1996.

No doubt this is true. The one reason that the government of Israel has submitted to negotiations is the threat of internal war, that is Civil War. The Intifada created the preconditions for the credibility acquired by the PLO even

though the PLO, and not even Hamas, did not have anything to do with the outbreak of street battles brought on by the Palestinian youth who refused to accept that their lives would continue on as their parents had. On the 20th anniversary of the temporary occupation of the administered territories there were demonstrations. The Israeli army came out to suppress the demonstrators by killing a few in order to intimidate the many, instead the youth were enraged and came out again over a period of about seven years. This is the real dynamic in the Palestinian revolution.

“The struggle will continue until all of Palestine is liberated.”

--- Yasser Arafat, *Voice of Palestine Radio*, 11 November 1995.

The Palestinians would have to right to live wherever their origins lead them in the Land. Currently occupied premises and lands may be compensated for by equivalent resources elsewhere, if necessary.

If the negotiations reach a dead end, we shall go back to the struggle and strife, as we did for 40 years. It is not beyond our capabilities. [...] If and when Israel will say, ‘That’s it, we won’t talk about Jerusalem, we won’t return refugees, we won’t dismantle settlements, and we won’t retreat from borders,’ then all the acts of violence will return. Except that this time we’ll have 30,000 armed Palestinian soldiers who will operate in areas in which we have unprecedented elements of freedom.

--- Palestinian Authority Planning Minister Nabil Sha'ath, at a symposium shown on Palestinian television, *The Jerusalem Post*, 15 March 1996.

Obviously. The historic balance of forces and pressures now dictate that the government of Israel is obliged to negotiate with the PLO. This is why even the Netanyahu-led government is engaged in negotiations. In reference to Nabil Sha'ath who is quoted above one should also refer to the citation of his printed in the Jewish People's Liberation Organization declaration following this chapter;

16. An historic turning point has been passed. Let it be universally acknowledged, as it has been by the past Director of the Planning Center of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut, Lebanon (Nabil Sha'ath), as early as 1977, that the Palestinian Charter;

signifies equally, that the exercise by the people of Palestine of their right of self-determination in Palestine does not include the right to exclude the palestinian Jews from Palestine, that signifies also that this right does not include the right to create in Palestine a State solely arab. The right to self-determination of the Palestinian People, applied to the jewish Palestinians, means that they must exercise this right on the land of Palestine, and that this right does not include the right of separation and consequently, the exclusion of the Arab people of Palestine. This is why the right to self-determination of Jews and of Arabs in Palestine must be exercised in common on the same land, Palestine. **

The principle of reciprocity is thereby acknowledged by Shaath;

that signifies the end of all States which require that the self-determination of its ethnic group assumes the exclusion of another ethnic group ... it is thus the definitive end of all States in which segregation exists de jure or de facto. **

Ethnic-cleansing then is refuted and the hypocrisy of Zionism remains.

** Nabil Shaath, 'L'autodétermination et l'état démocratique de Palestine', pp. 211-218, *Palestine: Actes du colloque Palestine*, Bruxelles, Belgique, 13-15 mai 1976, Douclot - S.N.E.D., 1977, ISBN 2-8011-0114-1, p. 213.

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Having functioned as an intermediary on behalf of the Palestinians to the Western (North American) societies and, on behalf of the Jewish People to the Palestinian and Arab Nations since 1968, my purpose has been to avoid an all out war which both sides are prepared and willing to endure. In general, I would say that the Palestinians and Arabs have been more willing to seek a peaceful solution than have the Israelis, despite Western media reports. I perceive a more fundamental process at work, and I expect that the resultant

dynamic is a dual revolution of both Jewish and Palestinian peoples in opposition to Statism and fascism.

Being a second generation Holocaust survivor, it seems to me that the basis of research and enquiry should be directed towards the achievement of survival. Various ideologies have placed themselves above the value of human life in order to perpetuate its own perpetuation. This form of human alienation is neither intellectually acceptable nor is it a sane consciousness for the humans concerned to hold.

No doubt Jewish existence as human life is a right. That is, a Jewish life has the right to exist if human life does. Since human life, as a right, is a reciprocal right then the right of existence in general is a human right, the right to identity.

If one does not recognize the human life of 'the Other' as a right, one then in effect annuls one's own right to life, by consequence. This is the inverse reciprocity. We should prefer mutual reciprocity and the benefits that may be derived.

End Notes

1. Rabbi Hirsch of the Neturei Karta (Guardians of the Holiness of the City) represents the Jewish people on the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

2. Israel Zangwill favoured the Uganda border region as a "Land without a People for a People without a Land". (The Penguin Political Dictionary, Penguin Books Ltd., 1940, see 'Zionism')

* * * *

APPENDIX F

NO TO WAR AND TERROR

(See image page following)

NO TO WAR AND TERROR

There is no rationale, justification or understanding for the use of terror in any of its various forms, whether committed by State forces, militias or individuals. Terrorism is the practice of seeking political or military goals through the use or threat of deadly force against a civilian population. Attacks on unarmed Israeli civilians have elicited widespread condemnation, and rightly so and those who denounce the actions of others must examine their own position. Since this second uprising or Intifada in September 2000 at least 350 Israeli civilians have been killed and some 1700 Palestinian civilians as well.

As part of a people who have suffered greatly through much of our history, we should be able to empathize with the experiences of Palestinians. The current Israeli political leadership, backed by major North American Jewish organizations, has led us into a dead end. Endless physical and psychological trauma directed against Palestinians has fed desperation and hopelessness but not surrender. Horror and hatred only breed more of the same. The Israeli government uses attacks against Jewish civilians to justify continued dispossession of Palestinians in their homeland. The drive for a greater Israel has only led to misery. The age-old flames of anti-Semitism are being rekindled in many parts of the world not only by bigotry but also in reaction to the ambitions of Israeli fanatics who care more for their own power than for the interests of their people. In Canada, anti-Semitic incidents number 197 this year alone increasing exponentially.

We can follow a different path. As the Palestinian Dr. Hanan Ashrawi and others have stated, "We call upon the parties behind military operations targeting civilians in Israel to reconsider their policies and stop driving our young men to carry out these operations. ... These bombing do not contribute to freedom and independence. On the contrary, they strengthen the enemies of peace of the Israeli side and give the Sharon government an excuse to continue its harsh war against our people." Jewish people can live in peace with Palestinians once the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is ended. Public opinion polls have shown that a majority of the Israeli population opposes the occupation, yet it continues. We also say no to all terrorism, including State terror. No war no more. Justice, not militarism, will bring peace. Nothing can justify the continued killings and torture, the massive expropriation of land and water and the blatant disregard of the Palestinian People's independence and basic liberties. The actions of Palestinian groups seeking to terrorise in retaliation only solidify their own People's oppression. Amnesty International states, "international law requires all parties involved in a conflict to always distinguish between civilians and people actively taking part in the hostilities." In the Irish struggle for national recognition the IRA has come to realize its error and apologized for the killing of "all non-combatants". National liberation cannot be achieved by denying to others those rights one seeks for oneself.

Jewish People's Liberation Organization

for the end of the Zionist ideology and anti-Semitic racism
Montréal 25/07/2002

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Truman letter

(image jpeg on page following)

This Government has been informed that a Jewish
state has been proclaimed in Palestine, and recognition
has been requested by the ^{provisional} Government thereof.

The United States recognizes the provisional gov-
ernment as the de facto authority of the new ^{State of} ~~Israel~~
~~State~~ *Israel*.


Harry Truman

*Approved,
May 14, 1948.*

6.11

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